

OLD EUROPEAN JEWRIES



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OLD EUROPEAN JEWRIES

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BY

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AUTHOR OF "THE JEW IN ENGLISH FICTION," ETC.

*"By the Ghetto's plague,
By the garb's disgrace"*

BROWNING



Philadelphia

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P53

TO MY WIFE,
WHO, WITH SYMPATHETIC INTEREST, VISITED
WITH ME MANY OF THE PLACES
HEREIN MENTIONED,
THIS BOOK IS LOVINGLY INSCRIBED.

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P R E F A C E .

When, several years ago, I planned a trip abroad, one of my objects was to visit the remains of the old Jewish quarters in some of the European cities. Before that time, I had determined to write the story of the Ghetto, and it occurred to me that it would add interest to the work if I could supplement my studies by a view of the sites of certain old Jewries. This I found to be the case, for memories linger about these spots which bring their history vividly to mind.

I have limited myself to a study of the officially instituted Ghetto. The legislation restricting Jews in the choice of their dwelling places was in a line with the general policy of church and state towards them up to this century. At

times, it is true, Jews resided together in separate portions of cities even when they were not forced to do so by law. For the formation of these voluntary Ghettos there were various reasons, which I point out in one of the chapters of this book.

I have included a chapter on the Russian Pale of Settlement, the great modern Ghetto, because it is germane to the subject. We see the evils and horrors of the old Ghetto repeated in our own day in these districts.

We can not but stand amazed at the endurance of the Jew which enabled him to triumph over the nameless woes which the thought of the Ghetto suggests. It is one of the wonders of history.

CINCINNATI, *July*, 1894.

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CHAPTER I.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS OF JEWS IN EUROPE.

After the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in the year 70 C. E., the Jews cast about for new dwelling places. Long before this event Jews had settled in the various capitals of the then civilized world, in Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, the cities of Asia Minor and Egypt. In Rome, the influence of their religious teachings became apparent as early as 76 B. C. E.,¹ but their settlement in considerable numbers is usually dated from the time of Pompey, the first Roman general to enter Jerusalem and carry Jews to Rome;² thereafter, the Jewish colony received additions from time to time. Outside of Rome, it is not likely that there were Jewish settlements in western Europe before the beginning of the Christian era, although there were traditions current in

later days among the Jews themselves that some of their number had settled in portions of Europe in very early times. For example, it has been asserted that there were synagogues in Germany, at Ulm and Worms, before the origin of Christianity. The Spanish Jews had a tradition that there were Jews in Spain as early as the days of King Solomon.³ But these pretensions cannot be established, and will not bear scrutiny. The earliest authentic notices concerning the Jews in European lands date from the first Christian centuries. Titus, the conqueror of Jerusalem, we know, deported thousands of Jewish captives to the western Roman provinces. Many were sent to Sardinia to work in the mines, many remained in Rome, and we have frequent notices of them during the reigns of succeeding emperors. Into the Italian cities, they naturally drifted from Rome. As for Spain, the earliest authentic notice is by the apostle Paul, who, in his Epistle to the Romans, says: "Whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you; for I trust to

see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you ;”⁴ and “ I will come by you into Spain.”⁵ Paul, we know, journeyed only to places in which Jews dwelt, or in which Jewish teachings had been established, for only those acquainted with Jewish doctrines could understand him. At any rate, Jews dwelt in Spain before the beginning of the fourth century, for the council of Illiberis, held in 305, devoted four decrees to the Jews, forbidding the Christians to live on intimate terms with them, this showing that there must have been a considerable number of Jews living in Spain at that time. Among these paragraphs are the following : If heretics are unwilling to join the Catholic Church, Catholic girls must not be given to them in marriage ; but neither to Jews nor to heretics should they be given, because there can be no association for the faithful with the unbeliever. If parents act contrary to this prohibition, they shall be cut off from communion for five years.⁶

If, then, any ecclesiastic or any of the

faithful partakes of food with Jews, he shall be deprived of communion, so that this may be corrected.⁷

Owners (of land) are warned not to permit their products which they receive from God to be blessed by Jews, lest they make our blessing useless and weak. If anyone shall presume to do this after this prohibition, he shall be excluded from the church.⁸

These decrees definitely prove that there were Jews in Spain as early as 300.

As for France, or Gaul, as the province was called in early days, it is unknown, according to Graetz, when the Jews first settled there.⁹ There is no proof of their residence prior to the second century.

Depping,¹⁰ arguing from the expressions of Constantine regarding the Jews of Cologne, concludes that they may have been dwelling in some of the cities of north-western Europe before the attention of the Roman emperors was directed to them. In a law of the Theodosian code¹¹ (compiled between 425 and 435), addressed to

the prefect of Gaul, a favorable mention of the Jews occurs, which would go to prove that they were then firmly settled, and were scattered throughout Gaul and Belgium.

According to tradition, Jews settled in Germany in hoary antiquity. When, in the time of the crusades, the Jews of western Europe were held responsible for the death of Jesus, and thousands upon thousands of them were slaughtered by the wild mobs on that account, some tale had to be invented to disprove the charge, and the Jews put forth the claim that they had had a congregation in Worms long before the time of Jesus, in fact, as early as the days of Ezra, and that, therefore, they were not concerned with nor responsible for the crucifixion. According to another tradition, the Jews of southern Germany were descendants of the soldiers who had sacked Jerusalem. These soldiers, the Vangiones—so ran the story—had selected beautiful Jewish women as their portion of the spoil, carried them to their quarters on the Rhine and the Main, and there consorted with them. Their children were

reared as Jews by their mothers, and were the founders of the Jewish communities between Worms and Mayence.¹² This, however, is all legendary. The earliest reliable notices of the settlement of Jews in German cities inform us that there were Jews in Cologne in the fourth century,¹³ in Magdeburg, Merseburg¹⁴ and Ratisbon¹⁵ in the tenth, and in Mayence, Speyer, Worms and Treves¹⁶ in the eleventh. As for Nuremberg, one chronicler states that Jews dwelt there in the year 100, another makes it as early as 46, but historical data do not justify us in considering their residence there as assured before the time of Emperor Henry IV in the eleventh century.¹⁷ Undoubtedly, Jews did dwell in the German cities before the tenth and eleventh centuries, for in those times they were present in large numbers, but no earlier archives and authentic documents mention them.

As for the Jews in England, the first notices we have of their presence in that country before the Norman conquest are in the collections of canon laws made by

Theodorus, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Egbert, Archbishop of York, for the regulation of the church. By these laws the Jews are subjected to much the same prohibitions as those formulated by the church councils. Theodorus was archbishop from 669 to 691, and Egbert, from 735 to 766.¹⁸ There is one more notice of the residence of Jews in England in early days. A document issued by King Witglaff, of Mercia, in 833, confirms the right of the monks of the cloister of Croyland to all the possessions given them by earlier kings of Mercia, nobles and other faithful Christians, and also to those received from Jews as gift, pledge or otherwise.¹⁹

All argument as to the earlier residence of Jews in these lands is necessarily conjectural; it seems justifiable to conclude that they settled wherever a home was offered them, but until positive proofs are produced to the contrary, we must regard those given above as the earliest authentic notices. The first settlements of Jews in European lands are still shrouded in mystery.²⁰

Up to the time of the crusades the condition of the Jews in Europe was bearable. There were outbursts of the persecuting spirit now and then, notably in the reigns of the Visigothic kings in Spain and the Merovingian in France; there were bitter attacks made against them by churchmen, such as Amolo and Agobard, of Lyons; but compared with the fiendish treatment inaugurated by the mobs on their way to Palestine to conquer the sepulcher of their Lord, the life of the Jews during the first ten Christian centuries was almost blissful. They were free citizens, could dwell wherever they liked, and were on terms of friendship and intimacy with the Christian population. If they had not been, decrees would not have been passed by the church councils forbidding such intimacy. They followed what pursuits they pleased, and on the whole led peaceful lives. But with the fanatical cry resounding throughout Europe at the time of the crusades: "Exterminate the enemies of Christ at home before fighting against them in the far East," the terrible woes of the Jews began,

and the bloody chapter of the persecutions of centuries was opened. The Jew was safe nowhere in France, Germany, England and Austria, the countries especially affected by the crusades. The mobs, incited by the priesthood, robbed, plundered, outraged, murdered, exterminated. In those dark times, to protect the Jews as far as possible from the persecutions of the populace and the venom of the priesthood, and to assure their right of residence in the different cities and districts, the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire and the kings of various countries took them under their special protection, for pecuniary considerations, of course, and the Jews became the so-called *servi camerae*, servants of the chamber, of the emperor or king. The idea gained ground that the Jews were subject to the emperor directly, were to be protected by him everywhere, and had to pay for this protection. This servitude did not mean that they were slaves or serfs, with whose life or goods the emperor or king could do as he pleased, but merely that they had to pay tribute for his

protection. In the end it virtually robbed them of their freedom, since these rulers did with them much as they wished. The exact date of the beginning of this relation cannot be determined. The emperors pleased themselves with the fiction that this subjection and protection began with the taking of Jerusalem by Titus; that the Jews came under the protection of the Roman emperors at that time, and that, as they were the legitimate successors of the emperors of Rome, they acquired the rights of the latter. This contention is not worthy of serious consideration. The servitude of the chamber was a new institution, called forth by the terrible calamities that befell the Jews, and was at the time welcomed as a boon, as almost anything would have been that promised respite and deliverance. Graetz²¹ says that in Germany this protection was systematically instituted in the reign of Frederick Barbarossa. Henry IV protected them in 1103. Conrad III, during the second crusade, gave the Jews who applied to him for protection refuge in Nuremberg. Al-

though there are these instances of protection in the twelfth, yet according to Stobbe²² it was only in the thirteenth century that the institution of *servi cameræ* was established. In the reign of Frederick II,²² the Jews are called special servants of the chamber, and in 1246 Conrad IV calls the Jews of Frankfort *servi cameræ nostræ*.

In France and England,²³ a like relation was supposed to hold between the Jews and the kings. This supposition of the special jurisdiction of the emperor or king over the Jews exerted a great influence upon their residence in various cities and districts. Jews were looked upon in one light only, viz., as a source of revenue. For example, in 1407, Emperor Rupert commanded that the Jews be not too heavily burdened, lest they be forced to emigrate, and the cities so suffer a diminution of income; in 1480, Frederick III commanded that the Jews of Ratisbon be treated in such a manner that they might restore their fortunes in five years to an extent sufficient to enable them to pay the emperor 10,000 gulden. As they were so

great a source of income, the emperor, when in need, often sold the Jews of a city to princes, counts or bishops for a stipulated sum, with the understanding that thereafter the purchaser was to enjoy the income derived from taxing them. He sometimes even sold the right to parties not connected with the government of the cities in which the Jews lived. For instance, in 1263, the Jews of Worms were turned over to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Speyer; in 1279, the Jews of the dioceses of Strasburg and Basle, to the bishop of Basle.²⁴

Often, if the emperor owed money to some ruler or bishop, he gave the Jews over to him for a number of years, until taxes equal to the debt were collected; or, if he was in need of money, he borrowed it on the same security; and if a ruler, noble or priest was in debt to the citizens, he did the same. The archbishop of Mayence was in debt to the citizens of Erfurt; his income from the Jews of Erfurt, whose protection or, in other words, the right to tax whom, had been transferred

to him by the emperor, was 100 marks a year; this income he granted the citizens of the city for four years. The emperors also often sold to cities the rights over the Jews. It was the most convenient manner of raising money. It can be well understood how all this affected the residence of the Jews in the cities. They were granted the right to dwell there, because they were sources of revenue. Otherwise they would not have been tolerated long.

The right of residence in places in which they had not yet dwelt was also a privilege sold or granted by the emperor. It was, indeed, a privilege for a ruler to have Jews in his domain, for it meant a certain income, and as princes were always in need of money, this permission to have Jews was much sought for. The technical term for this permission was *Judæos tenere*,²⁵ or *Judæos habere*, the right to keep or to have Jews. It can be seen how precarious their residence everywhere was; they had the right to dwell not as men, but as taxable property on a footing with all other sources of income. They had to pay for

the mere privilege of living, and even then had not the freedom to choose their dwelling place. For the most part, a special quarter was assigned to them.

The conditions of their residence having been discussed, the consideration of the place of dwelling granted them by their masters, the rulers and the peoples of European lands, may now be turned to.

CHAPTER II.

THE INSTITUTION OF THE GHETTO.

Every possible method to degrade and harass the Jews, and mark them off from the remainder of the population was invented and employed in the dark, mediæval days. Decrees innumerable, regulating the life of the Jews and their intercourse with Christians, were passed at church council upon church council, and incorporated into the canon law, and often into civil legislation. Laws prohibiting them to hold offices, to eat or associate with Christians, to employ Christian nurses or servants, to appear on the streets during Passion Week, and many more of the same kind, were enacted time and again. But all such prohibitions, irritating and troublesome as they were, were yet naught compared with two regulations which only fiendish ingenuity could have invented to crush unfortunates whose only crime lay in the fact that the faith they

confessed was a reproach to the claims of Christianity. One was the device hit upon by Pope Innocent III, decreed by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, and thereupon by every church council of that century convened anywhere in Europe—from Oxford in England, in 1222, to Buda in Hungary, in 1279—compelling every Jew to wear on his clothes a mark, usually a piece of yellow cloth, by which he might be at once known as a Jew. From that time on the Jew was a marked creature. The command was received by the unfortunates with a wail of despair resounding throughout Europe. Effort upon effort was made to have it revoked or to evade it, but all in vain. It was the will of the church, and the Jew had to submit. The other device adopted to completely isolate the Jews was to shut them up in separate quarters, originally called *vicus Judæorum*, later known as *Judengasse*, *Judenstrasse* or *Judenviertel* in Germany, as *Ghetto* in Italy, as *Judiaria* in Portugal, as *Juiverie* in France, as *Carriera* in Provence and Comtat Venaissin. Here, penned up like

cattle, they were to live apart from the Christians. This systematic exclusion began with the fourteenth century. Before that time Jews had inhabited quarters by themselves, but from choice, not because they had been forced into them.

What a picture the Ghetto recalls! The narrow, gloomy streets, with the houses towering high on either side; the sunlight rarely streaming in; situated in the worst slums of the city; shut off by gates barred and bolted every night with chains and locks, none permitted to enter or depart from sundown to sunrise! The solution had at last been found; the Jew was effectually excluded. The Christian no longer would be corrupted and contaminated by the close proximity of the followers of the *superstitio et perfidia Judaica*, "the Jewish superstition and perfidy." For four centuries this lasted. As we to-day remove the victims of a pestilence far away from the inhabited portions of our cities, from fear of contagion, so the Jews were cut off by the walls of the Ghetto as though stricken with some loathsome disease that might

carry misery and death unto others if they lived in close contact with them. The Ghetto has been well stigmatized as a "pest-like isolation."²⁶ Speaking of the sixteenth century one writer says: "Stone walls arose in all places wherein Jews dwelt, shutting off their quarters like pesthouses; the Ghetto had become epidemic."²⁷

At first, as was said above, this dwelling in separate quarters was not compulsory; the Jews lived together in their own quarters before hostile legislation forced them into the Ghettos. For this we can assign several reasons. One was their fear of the remainder of the population, and another their *esprit de corps*. They naturally felt that if they lived together, they could assist one another better in case of need. In some instances, in fact, it was considered a favor when the temporal or ecclesiastical ruler of a city assigned them a quarter in which they would be protected, as Bishop Rüdiger of Speyer did in 1084.²⁸ According to some historians,²⁹ their inhabiting separate quarters

was due to the fact that in mediæval times people of the same industrial, social or commercial class were accustomed to dwell together in certain streets, and the Jews, forming a separate community whose center was the synagogue, naturally lived together. Whatever truth there may be in this contention (and the strong feeling of a common religion and a common past did hold the Jews together), there can be no doubt that the authorities later enclosed them in separate quarters to disgrace them and prevent their having too intimate relations with the Christians. Such is the reason given in the decrees, quoted in a subsequent chapter, ordering their dwelling in separate quarters.

The names applied to these Jewish quarters in different countries, noted above, are readily explained, with the exception of the one now commonly adopted in all languages to designate the isolation of the Jews in Christian communities, viz., the word *Ghetto*. There have been various explanations of the word. Its form points to Italian origin, and in truth, it was first

used of the Jewish quarters in Italian cities. Italian Jews derived the word, which they spelled *g-u-c-t-o*, from the Hebrew word *get*, "bill of divorce," finding the idea of divorce expressed by the one term, and that of exclusion in the other, sufficiently analagous to point to a common origin. Another explanation connects the word Ghetto with the German *Gitter*, "bars."³⁰ This suggestion has not much in its favor. That the Ghetto resembled nothing so much as a barred cage is true enough, but a likeness of this kind is not sufficient to found an etymological explanation upon. Still another and more plausible explanation has been offered for the origin of the word. It is traced to Venice, in which a separate Jewish quarter existed in 1516. The Jewish quarter was called Ghetto, because it lay in the vicinity of a cannon foundry, which in Italian is termed *gheta*.³¹ This designation, belonging first only to the Venetian Jewry, soon became general. Berliner adduces, as an example of similarly wide application of a special term derived from a particular locality, the word

catacombs, the name of the subterranean burial vaults of Rome, derived from the first burial place of the kind, which was situated *ad Catacombas*. I may also mention the suggestion that the word is an abbreviation of the Italian *borghetto*, small burg or quarter.³²

The fifteenth century may be set as the time in which the Ghetto was established as the legal dwelling place of the Jews. As mentioned above, before that time they had dwelt apart, but the isolation was optional, at times sought as a privilege. But from the fifteenth century on, Ghettos became general; in almost every city in which Jews dwelt, a Ghetto was formed. In the next chapter will be given some council and papal decrees on the subject. At present, it will suffice to take a rapid survey of the European lands, to see how general the Ghettos were. Comparatively few of the cities will be mentioned, for, as one, so all.

In Portugal, even before the fifteenth century, in all cities and places in which over ten Jews lived, there was a separate

Jewish quarter, known as *Judiaria*. In Lisbon, the chief city, there were several *Judiarias*, and in all other cities Jewish quarters existed. These *Judiarias* were closed every evening when the bells sounded for prayer, and were guarded by two watchmen appointed by the king. Any Jew found outside of the *Judiaria* after the first three tollings of the bells was fined ten liveres, or, according to an order of King Dom Pedro, was whipped through the city, and in case of repetition of the offense, punished with confiscation of his property. These laws being so stringent, the Jews petitioned for their amelioration. King Joao I promised to lighten their burden, and in 1412 issued new regulations. According to these, every Jew over fifteen years of age found outside the *Judiaria* after the given signal, was fined for the first offense five thousand liveres, for the second ten thousand, and for the third was publicly whipped. These laws were made bearable by favorable exceptions. For example, if a Jew, returning from a distant point, was

delayed beyond the given hour, he was not subjected to punishment; he was merely compelled to take the shortest way to the *Judiarìa*, and in case it was closed, he could spend the night elsewhere.³³

In Italy the first Ghetto in which the Jews were forced to live was established in Venice, in March, 1516,³⁴ on the island *Lunga Spina*. The celebrated Ghetto of Rome, possibly the worst and most noisome of all, was established in 1556, by Pope Paul IV Caraffa, of evil memory among Jews.³⁵ With this precedent, the Ghetto became a common institution. The other Italian cities quickly followed, Turin, Florence, Pisa, Ferrara,³⁶ Genoa,³⁷ Mantua,³⁸ Beneventum³⁹ and Naples.⁴⁰

In Sicily the Jews were placed in separate quarters, long before it was done in the Italian cities. In 1312, Frederick II ordered that the Jews of Palermo should live apart from the Christians, in fact, outside of the city walls; they were, however, soon after permitted to occupy a quarter within the city,⁴¹ in the vicinity of the town hall and the Augustinian cloister.

The Moschita Court adjoining contained the synagogue, a hospital and forty-four dwellings.⁴²

In 1392, the monk Julian obtained permission, as royal commissioner, to drive all Sicilian Jews into Ghettos.⁴³ In Trapani, the Jewish quarter lay next to the city wall. When this needed repairs, the citizens wished to put the burden of the repairs upon the Jewish community, but the government compelled all to share in the expense.⁴⁴ In Castro a special officer, mentioned in a document of the year 1416, had jurisdiction over the Ghetto.⁴⁵

In Germany, the freedom of the Jews began to be impaired in the middle of the twelfth century, the time at which their residence outside of Jewish quarters was first forbidden.⁴⁶ In Cologne they were compelled to live in their own quarter as early as this. A *porta Judæorum*, "Jews' gate," is mentioned in 1206, a *propugnaculum Judæorum*, "Jews' bulwark," in 1246. According to the Cologne city records of the year 1341, the town officer was to have the keys of the Jews' gates; he was to lock

the gates at sundown, and unlock them at prime, for which service the Jews had to pay him twenty marks yearly.⁴⁷ The Jews of Ratisbon lived in the *Judenviertel*,⁴⁸ separated from the rest of the city by three large and three small gates, locked every evening and opened every morning. In Nuremberg, in 1349, a special quarter was assigned to them, and when their numbers had greatly increased, the authorities were forced to name certain other streets in which they might acquire property.⁴⁹ In 1460, the Jews of Frankfort were forced to leave their dwellings in all portions of the city, and live in one assigned street.⁵⁰ Most German cities had their *Judengasse*. In Ueberlingen, the street in which the Jews lived was so designated. A *porta Judæorum* in Worms is mentioned in 1231. To keep stricter watch over the doings of the Jews, the archbishop of Treves, in conjunction with the civic authorities, concluded in 1362 that the Jews should have but three gates leading into the streets of the city, and that the rest of the gates should be walled up. In some cities, the brothels

were transferred to the *Judengasse*, this being regarded as of ill repute. In 1375, the council of Schweidnitz, in answer to a petition of the Jews, promised that no fallen women should thereafter be transferred to their street.⁵¹ A recent writer mentions two Jewish gravestones of the year 1379 in Rothenburg an der Tauber as reminding him of the days when the Jews all dwelt in the *Gasse*.⁵² The Jewish quarter of Speyer dates from the year 1084.⁵³ At first granted as a privilege, it, too, became the enforced dwelling place of the unfortunate people. So throughout Germany, Austria, Bohemia and Eastern lands, the *Gasse* became an established institution. Karl Emil Franzos speaks of the Ghetto of his native town as an "out-cast quarter, which stretches along the unhealthy morasses of the river of our town. Pestilential vapors poison the atmosphere, which remains gloomy in spite of the clearest sunshine."

The private houses of the Ghettos, notably in the larger cities, were high and narrow, and harbored several families.

However much the Jews' quarters in different localities may have varied in appearance, two homes were common to them all, the synagogue and "the home of the dead." The synagogue was naturally the center of the communal life of the Jews; their religion was the bond that joined them. In the synagogue, they assembled every day for service, and in prayer there, they gained the strength and endurance necessary to live their lives. Their religion was an integral portion of their existence, and dominated its every hour. Their God was ever in their thoughts, and very near unto them. Their religion was truly their life. And that other spot found in every Ghetto, that last home of the mortal frame, too often was the only resting place they could hope for. In the Ghetto, it was called the "good place," and who knows unto how many, during the sad days marked by fanaticism, it appeared as a good place, better than any other earthly habitation. Usually situated at the end of the *Gasse*, the cemetery was a common feature of all Jewish quarters.

The Jews found rest in the synagogue and in the burying ground; the one was the emblem of the living faith, the undying bond that joined the Jews all over the earth; the other, the eternal home of the generations that had been steadfast to the faith of the fathers, and had been filled with the hope of a better and brighter future, in which the time of suffering would be fulfilled, and their God would bring peace and rest to His people, was the symbol of fealty in death to the same faith. In a measure, that time of surcease of suffering has come. The Jews in the civilized world are as free as other men. God has brought liberty and freedom to them. May the myriads who lived, suffered, prayed, endured, hoped, and died in exclusion, rest in peace! Their descendants are enjoying the benefits of that better day which they felt sure that the God of mercy would bring about, as they expressed it, "in His own time."

There was one other communal house in some Jewish quarters, which should be referred to. Sad as was their position,

the Ghetto Jews had their joys and pleasures, not only in the family circle, but also in their communal life. It must not be imagined that they continually lived in the shadow of exclusion. It was not constantly present to their thoughts. Years and centuries accustomed them to their life, and the natural buoyancy of human creatures is bound to assert itself. There were not always active persecutions, and in quiet times, the life of the inhabitants of the Ghetto flowed along much as life elsewhere does, with its joy and sorrow, its happiness and woe, its pleasure and grief. For the joyous element, provision was made in what was known as the "Dance house." The larger communities, such as those at Frankfort, Eger, Augsburg, Rothenburg, etc., had their own dance houses, which, besides serving the purpose indicated by their name, when necessary, may have been used as gathering places for more earnest occasions. "Here the Jewish girls could appear without the two blue stripes on their veils, and the men without the dis-

tinguishing mark on their clothes or the peaked hat on their heads.”⁵⁴ It is gratifying to think that there were bright spots, too, in that long life of misery, separation and exclusion. The very fact that the Jews outlived the depression and the evils of the cramped Ghetto existence, and retained the elasticity of temperament which still marks them, speaks volumes for the optimism with which their faith imbued them. Not all the wrongs and ills of centuries could crush the spirit of hope that had its well-springs in the words of their prophets. A trustful earnestness marked them, and tided them over the evil times. The evil times that invented the Ghetto are, it is to be hoped, gone forever; the present, in western Europe and in America, at least, is bright with the promise of better things. In the cities of the western and southern European lands, “the Ghetto doors have been removed; the Jew is no longer cooped up in the worst slums of the city, and separated from his fellow townsmen by gates and chains.”

CHAPTER III.

THE GHETTO IN CHURCH LEGISLATION.

In order that the various motives that led to the establishment of the Ghetto or Jewish quarter may be better understood, some of the original acts of church authorities and councils ordering the dwelling apart of Jews, and stating the reasons therefor will be given here.

Reference has been made several times in the foregoing pages to the act of Rüdiger, Bishop of Speyer, by which, in the year 1084, he conferred upon the Jews of his diocese what were then considered privileges. He assigned them a separate portion of the city surrounded by a wall, gave them their own burying ground, granted them jurisdiction in their own affairs, etc. This was before the days in which the Ghetto was instituted as a mark of disgrace, but the document⁵⁵ is interesting from the fact that it is the oldest

extant dealing with a distinctly Jewish quarter.

“In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, when I, Rüdiger, also called Huozmann, Bishop of Speyer, changed the town of Speyer into a city, I thought that I would add to the honor of our place by bringing in Jews. Accordingly, I located them outside of the community and habitation of the other citizens, and that they might not readily be disturbed by the insolence of the populace, I surrounded them with a wall. Their place of habitation I had acquired in a just manner ; the hill partly with money, partly by exchange ; the valley I had received from (some) heirs as a gift. That place, I say, I gave over to them on the condition that they would pay three pounds and a half of the money of Speyer annually for the use of the (monastery) brothers. Within their dwelling place and outside thereof, up to the harbor of the ships, and in the harbor itself, I granted them full permission to change gold and silver ; to buy and sell anything

they pleased, and that same permission I gave them throughout the state. In addition, I gave them out of the property of the church a burial place with hereditary rights. I also granted the following rights: If any stranger Jew lodge with them (temporarily), he shall be free from tax. Further, just as the city governor adjudicates between the citizens, so the head synagogue officer is to decide every case that may arise between Jews or against them. But if, by chance, he can not decide, the case shall be brought before the bishop and his chamberlains. Night watches, guards, fortifications, they shall provide only for their own district, the guards, indeed, in common with the servants. Nurses and servants they shall be permitted to have from among us. Slaughtered meat which, according to their law, they are not permitted to eat, they can sell to Christians, and Christians may buy it. Finally, as the crowning mark of kindness, I have given them laws better than the Jewish people has in any city of the German empire.

Lest any of my successors diminish this favor and privilege, or force them to pay greater tribute, on the plea that they acquired their favorable status unjustly, and did not receive it from a bishop, I have left this document as a testimony of the above mentioned favors. And that the remembrance of this matter may last through the centuries, I have corroborated it under my hand and seal, as may be seen below.

Given on the fifteenth of September, in the year of the Incarnation 1084, in the twelfth year since the above mentioned bishop commenced to rule in this state."

This document mentions one peculiarity of legislation in regard to the Jews, to which a few words may be devoted. The bishop states that one of the great favors granted the Jews of his diocese was that a Jew passing through the city could lodge with the Jews during his temporary stay without having to pay a tax for the privilege. In the light of known facts, this was, indeed, a noteworthy concession. In most German cities a non-resident Jew

was not permitted to stay, even over night ; to stop for a longer time was altogether out of the question. Other cities granted the privilege, but only for a fixed pecuniary consideration. The privileges here granted are remarkable, and the bishop is quite correct in his statement that his Jews lived under more favorable laws than those in any other German city.

The real reason that prompted churchmen to legislate that Jews should occupy separate quarters is given in the following clause taken from the proceedings of the ecclesiastical synod held at Breslau in the year 1266 :

“Since the land of Poland is a new acquisition in the body of Christianity, lest perchance the Christian people be, on this account, the more easily infected with the superstition and depraved morals of the Jews dwelling among them * * * we command that the Jews dwelling in this province of Gnesen shall not live among the Christians, but shall have their houses near or next to one another in some sequestered part of the state or town, so

that their dwelling place shall be separated from the common dwelling place of the Christians by a hedge, a wall or a ditch."⁵⁶

The third provincial council of Ravenna, held in 1311, desiring to put an end to the free commingling of Christians and Jews, apparently in vogue in that province, decreed, among other restrictive measures, one in regard to the habitation of the Jews :

“Jews shall not dwell longer than a month anywhere, except in those places in which they have synagogues.”⁵⁷

It appears, however, that the commands of this council were not very much respected, for another held in the same place in 1317 deals more stringently with the same subject. The fourteenth rubric of this council begins, “Although the Jews are tolerated by the church, yet they ought not to be tolerated to the detriment or severe injury of the faithful; because it frequently happens that they return to Christians contumely for favors, contempt for familiarity. Therefore, the provincial council held at Ravenna some time since

(*see above*), thinking that many scandals have arisen from their too free commingling with Christians, decreed that they should wear a wheel of yellow cloth on their outer garments, and their women a like wheel on their heads, so that they may be distinguished from Christians," and then it continues, in reference to our subject: "And Jews shall not dwell longer than a month anywhere except in those places in which they have synagogues. But because some, not being able to abstain from forbidden things, disregard the sound decree of the aforementioned council, and pretend ignorance, a penalty shall teach them to know how grave an offense it is to disregard ecclesiastical decrees; and with the approbation of the sacred council, desiring to prevent this offense hereafter, we warn all clerics as well as laymen of our province, and we decree that two months after the publication of this decree no one shall erect houses for Jews, nor rent or sell them any already built, nor under any pretense grant them (any of their houses), or permit them to occupy them. If any one

acts contrary to this, he shall by that very deed incur excommunication, from which he cannot be absolved until he shall satisfy the above mentioned requirements."⁵⁵

In this manner the Jews were to be made impossible. Not even a separate quarter was granted them. No new settlement of Jews was to be permitted anywhere. They had to be satisfied with the permission to live, in the province of Ravenna, in places in which they chanced to have a synagogue.

The council of Valencia, in Spain, held in 1388, went further, and defined clearly the habitations that Jews might occupy. Its regulations include Saracens, Jews and Saracens being placed in the same category as contaminating Christians. By associating with them, "the faithful incur serious danger to body and mind," as it was put. The church dignitaries expressed themselves thus: "We decree, that Jews and Saracens shall no longer be permitted to have houses, inns or other dwelling places among Christians, nor Christians among Jews and Saracens; but Jews

and Saracens shall confine themselves to the limits assigned to them in certain cities and places. Where the aforesaid Jews and Saracens have not had limits or confines of this kind assigned to them for habitation, there shall be designated, and assigned to them in the aforementioned cities and places, certain quarters separated from the habitations of the Christians, within which they shall dwell, nor shall they be permitted under any circumstances to tarry without the said limits. * * * As for Christians who shall presume to live within the quarters assigned, or to be assigned, to Jews or Saracens, if, within two months from the day of publication of these orders in the Cathedral church of the state or diocese in which they dwell, they do not have a care to betake themselves to dwelling among Christians, they shall be forced to this by ecclesiastical censure. If, two months after the limits are set for the Jews and Saracens, or after the said limits have been made by the decree and will of the king, or other ruler, ecclesiastical or temporal, of the state or

place, they are unwilling or neglect to retire within them, they shall be removed from Christian communion.”⁵⁹

The general church council of Basle, held in 1434, put the matter very clearly, when, in its nineteenth session, it decreed, among other laws affecting the Jews: “That too great converse with them (Jews) may be avoided, they shall be compelled to live in certain places in the cities and towns, separated from the dwelling place of the Christians and as far from the churches as possible.”⁶⁰

The council of Milan, convened in 1565, during the papacy of Pius IV, the successor of Paul IV, who had, by special decree, instituted the Ghetto of Rome, demands in strong terms the establishment of Ghettos everywhere. The commands of preceding councils in this matter had not always met with obedience, but the example set by the pope himself in forcing the Jews of his domain into the terrible Jew quarter was emulated everywhere.

The words of the Milan council on this subject are as follows: “We strenuously

demand of the rulers that they shall designate in the different cities a certain place in which Jews shall live apart from Christians. And if Jews have houses of their own in (other portions of) the city, they (the rulers) shall command them to be sold to Christians within six months, in actuality and not by any pretended contract."⁶¹

The decrees given require no commentary. They express explicitly enough the reasons why the Jews were relegated to separate quarters. They show also the development of the sentiments towards this people. It is a long way from the mild document of Rüdiger, of Speyer, which granted them a special district as a protection, to the harsh and positive commands of the councils.

CHAPTER IV.

THE JUDENGASSE OF FRANKFORT- ON-THE-MAIN.

The best known and most celebrated of all the Ghettos of Germany is that of Frankfort-on-the-Main. Its history is remarkable ; some of the most stirring events in German-Jewish history took place there.

The Jews settled in Frankfort later than in most of the German cities. As late as 1152 no Jews lived there. A congregation was formed only towards the close of the twelfth century. The first authentic notice of the presence of Jews in the city is an account in an old chronicle of a fight between Christians and Jews.

The Jews of Frankfort stood under the direct protection of the emperor up to 1349, the year in which the city bought the right over them, *i. e.*, the right to tax them whenever need and occasion required. It was in this year, after this acquisition

by the city, that the greatest calamities befell the Jews, not only in Frankfort, but throughout Germany. The scourge known as the Black Death raged throughout Europe. Its victims ran up to thousands and hundreds of thousands. It is said that the Jews escaped its ravages, or at least did not succumb in such great numbers as the Christian population. The cry was raised that Jews had poisoned the wells. Then began one of the most terrible persecutions on record. The reports against the Jews were spread from place to place by the Flagellants, those bigoted fanatics who swept the country like a whirlwind, everywhere raising the cry of the guilt of the Jews, and inciting the populace to rob and exterminate the hated people. Their residences were burnt to the ground. The flames that destroyed the Jewish quarter spread, and a large portion of Frankfort lay in ashes. The whole Jewish community perished; at least there is no notice preserved of any Jews that were saved. The ground which they had owned fell to the city. In 1360 permission was again

given to Jews to settle in the city. Money was needed, and taxable property, all that Jews were considered to be, was in demand. Their condition after the return was bearable. They were, as a matter of course, not in possession of political rights, nor could they hold office. They were not taxed according to individual fortune, but had to pay a certain yearly sum for every Jew, determined upon beforehand. No Jews could be members of the *Rath*, the council of citizens that governed the affairs of the city. They were not admitted into any military organization. At this time, in the fourteenth century, they could own real estate, and fix their residence in any portion of the city. They were not yet compelled to dwell in a certain street, although there was a so-called Jewish quarter, in which most of the Jews lived together from choice, for here was the synagogue. Christians also lived in that quarter, and between 1364 and 1375 the mayor dwelt there.

The council passed upon the rights of the Jews in so-called *Judenordnungen*. From

the beginning of the fifteenth century such an act was passed every three years. This was a very profitable source of revenue, for the Jews could not gain right of residence for longer than this period, and so, every three years, they had to pay liberally to have the privilege renewed. It was the sword of Damocles continually hanging over their heads. The failure to have a favorable act passed, of course, meant expulsion, but money was all the legislators wanted, and by means of money the Jews succeeded in renewing the triennial lease whenever the time expired.

In the act (*Judenordnung*) of 1460, all the Jews were commanded to leave the homes hitherto occupied by them, and dwell together in one street set aside for them. This is the decree establishing the *Judengasse* or Ghetto. The decree gives as the reason for instituting the Ghetto the fact that many Jews lived in the neighborhood of the chief church of the city, and this proximity was looked upon as a contamination and a desecration. It was nothing short of an affront to

the Christian religion for Jews to hold their services so near a church, since the noise that the Jews made in chanting during their devotions disturbed the Christian service. Furthermore, it was shameful that Jews should view the holy host, and hear the church songs, as owing to the nearness of their dwellings to the church they could, and, therefore, the Jews and their synagogue not only had to be removed from such dangerous proximity to the holy building of the Christians, but, what was more, they had to be relegated to some portion of the city, and be shut off by themselves, so that all intercourse between them and the Christians might be impossible. There was to be no unduly close intimacy, lest the baneful influence of the Jews result in harm to the Christians with whom they might come into contact.

As early as 1442, the council had been ordered by Emperor Frederick III to pass this decree, but it had refused to obey his mandate. In 1458, the order was repeated, and the council did his

bidding. The quarter of the city to be inhabited by the Jews was designated. In 1460, work was begun on the new *Judengasse*, and in 1462 the Jews were compelled to occupy it. It lay in a sparsely inhabited portion of the city, and was separated from the nearest dwellings of the Christians in such a manner that the Jews dwelt in a completely secluded portion. It lay on the border between the old and the new city, on a part of the dried-up city-moat which ran along the wall of the old city. By this wall it was separated from the old city; by another wall, recently erected, from the new city. It had three entrances, one at the beginning of the street, another at the end, and the third in the middle of the wall. The first two connected it with the new city, the third with the old.

It must not for a moment be imagined that the Jews accepted this decree with equanimity. Up to this time they had lived on a friendly footing with their neighbors, and now to be shut up like marked creatures in a pen, locked every

night, filled them with dismay. They tried by every means to ward off the crushing blow. Why, why should they be forced to leave the dwellings they had hitherto occupied? They had been law-abiding, harmless. They addressed a petition to the council, in which, with the eagerness of despair, they begged that the decree be revoked, urging reasons, the strongest they could find, why this dreaded order should not be carried into effect. In their petition they said that the street appointed for their dwelling would be so completely separated from the city by the city wall that if they needed help, the city would not be able to assist them, and on the other side lived only gardeners and people employed in the woods by the day. Of late, too, the Jews had been mocked, and stoned, and threatened with violence in the streets into which the gates of the Ghetto led; how much more would this be the case if in the future they were compelled to go through those very streets whenever they went outside of their "street." Besides, in so isolated a region,

they would be exposed, at the time of the two *messen* or fairs, to the abuse and robbery of the many strangers who came to the city on those occasions. At the close of the petition, they offered, in order to invalidate the chief reason urged for their removal from their present homes, to have the gate opposite the church closed, to content themselves in the future with the one exit on the opposite side, to build a high wall about their present dwellings, and back of them a second, to sell all the houses standing in the vicinity of the church, and rent houses on the opposite side, and even to be satisfied to have the entrance to the street on that side put under lock and key.

All this they offered in order that they might maintain their self-respect and prevent the carrying out of the terrible measure which was to make of them, in a more aggravated sense than hitherto, a people apart. In spite of petition and appeal they did not succeed. All the offers they made did not assist their cause. Away from the association with their fellow-men

to the narrow, closed-up "street;" away from the enjoyment of God's light and air to the sunless, close atmosphere of the *Gasse*; away from house and home to the prison-like tenements in which for well-nigh four centuries mind and body were to be stunted! The unfortunates had a premonition, as it were, of the terrible effects of this latest outrage perpetrated by Christian legislation. In 1462 they were compelled to remove from their dwellings into the new street selected for them; it was termed at once New Egypt, because the enforced settling of the Jews there showed them to be slaves of the Christians, even as their fathers had been of the Egyptians. Truly an apt comparison, for the institution of the Ghetto marked the beginning of a new slavery, and demonstrated once again to the devoted people how powerless they were, and how completely at the mercy of their masters. They were made to feel that contact with them was an abomination. Wherever they gazed the word "excluded" met their eyes—excluded from civic privileges, ex-

cluded from political office and honor, excluded from the trades, excluded from the army, and now excluded from free contact and conversation with others, as though their touch was unholy, and their proximity a curse.

The houses in the *Gasse* had been erected by the city, also the synagogue, the bath-house, the dance-hall and the Jewish inn. On the other hand, all the houses in which Jews had dwelt became the property of the city, without compensation to the owners, other than the use of those assigned to them in their new street. These houses were by no means given to them as their property; for the privilege of inhabiting them they had to pay an annual sum into the city treasury. One hundred and fifty years later the houses of the *Judengasse* were at last declared to be the property of their tenants, but not the ground whereon they stood, and in place of the house-rent, which they had had to pay formerly, they now had to pay ground-rent. After 1465 all new buildings in the *Gasse* had to be erected at the expense of the Jews.

It was a most gloomy street, twelve feet broad, in its widest portion fifteen or sixteen feet. A wagon could not turn in it, and, that the great confusion incident upon the many stoppages thus caused might be avoided, the city council had the middle entrance widened. The *Gasse* contained one hundred and ninety houses, built very close together, some of them very high and containing many souls, the one hundred and ninety houses harboring four hundred and forty-five families. In each house there were two or three families, and as the community consisted of between twenty-five hundred and four thousand persons, each house contained, on an average, between thirteen and twenty persons. On account of the extreme narrowness of the street and the height of the buildings on either side, the tops of the buildings seemed almost to touch each other. The sun had little opportunity to penetrate here, and in this confinement the people were compelled to spend their lives. They were forced not only to live here; they could not leave

their "street" even for recreation. The rest of the city was closed to them. Every night they were locked in. The gates at the entrances of the *Gasse* were bolted at sundown, and not opened till morning, and on Sundays and all Christian and Jewish holidays they were kept bolted all day. Only in the most urgent cases was any one permitted to go outside of the "street," and then only by a small door, built in each gate. It might seem that all means of excluding and degrading these people had been exhausted by shutting them up. But no! the inventiveness of the legislators went further. At no time were the Jews to breathe the same fresh air with the citizens of the city. In spite of their dark, close, unhealthy dwelling place, they could not go forth in leisure hours to walk on the public promenades. By special legislation it was enacted that no Jew should walk in the *Stadt Allee*, the public pleasure, the only place in the city, at that time, for promenading. When, somewhat later, the moats and ramparts surrounding the city were converted into squares

planted with trees and flowers, the Jews were not permitted to use them, but had to confine themselves to the path leading to them. Can ingenuity go further in fastening the marks of disgrace on an unfortunate community? They were forbidden not only to live in the locality which they might prefer, but to enjoy the invigorating air of God, a right denied not even to the beasts of the field.

There were, too, some streets of the city, to say nothing of the public squares, that they scarcely dared tread upon. So, for example, they were absolutely forbidden to walk across the *Pfarreisen*, that is, the spot adjoining the chief church, or through the thoroughfares (employed as passages) leading to other churches, or over the so-called *Holz und Zimmergraben*. If a Jew presumed to walk on any of these forbidden places, his hat was snatched from his head by passers-by. The *Rocmerberg*, the space in front of the *Roemer* or *Rathhaus*, they could use only at the time of the fairs (*messen*), and then only on the east side, the side opposite the city hall.

Yes, there was one occasion on which the contamination of the Jew's presence was suffered even on the side of the space on which the city hall stood. That was when the Jews, on New Year's Day, entered the city hall with their gift of fine spices, which they were expected to give to every councilman, to express their allegiance to the city fathers, and to convey their gratitude for the precious privilege of being cramped in a dark, gloomy, unhealthy spot. This was the only occasion on which a Jew could enter the hall from the front; if, at any other time, he had business that required his presence in the city hall, he had to enter from the rear.

Not only were there certain districts of the city in which Jews were forbidden to appear, but even on the streets on which it was understood that they might walk, they were not free from the abuse and insults of the populace. The cry of *hep! hep!* resounded whenever the unfortunates showed themselves. They were chased through the streets; stones and mud were flung at them, and they dared

not retaliate. Three years after their transfer to the *Gasse*, the city council issued a special law forbidding any one to strike Jews, or assail them with insulting epithets on the streets. Such laws, however, were of little avail. The Jews were considered public property as far as the right to revile, abuse, and torment was concerned. Every street urchin looked upon the Jew as a subject for ridicule, and the most venerable, the wisest and the most learned Jew was compelled to take off his hat before any Christian *gamin* who called out "*Jud', mach mores! Jud', mach mores!*" That in spite of all these abuses and hardships Jews remained in Frankfort proves that they were subjected to the same treatment in other places, and were willing to submit to outrages upon honor for the mere permission to live in any quarter, however uninviting. They had to be thankful for this privilege, and were happy if the insults and abuses were not aggravated into robbery, pillage and murder.

The *Judengasse* of Frankfort mirrors in

its story and in the vicissitudes of the lives of its inhabitants the sad, heartrending and tragic history of the Jews of Europe in the centuries during which it existed. The waves of persecution passed over it, the fires of oppression played about it, the stones of religious hatred battered it, but still the Jew lived on, toiled on, suffered on. The two most calamitous affairs in the *Gasse* were the Pfefferkorn and Fettmilch incidents, and because they are typical of like incidents elsewhere, and left a deep impress on the community, a short account of them will not be out of place in the history of the *Judengasse* of Frankfort.

John Pfefferkorn was a converted Jew. He had been a butcher and, as common report had it, had been discovered in the act of stealing. After his conversion to Christianity, like so many of the same ilk, he proceeded to vilify his former co-religionists in order to give evidence of zeal for his new religion. It is supposed that he was the tool of the Dominicans of Cologne, whose palms itched for Jewish

wealth, chief among them being Jacob van Hoogstraten, the grand inquisitor. Beginning with the year 1507, Pfefferkorn issued a number of writings against the Jews. In that year appeared his *Judenspiegel*, in which he heaps accusations upon the Jews, and shows what is necessary to convert them to Christianity. One of the means he mentions points to his later course of action. He says that all the books of the Jews, the Talmud, prayer-books, all except the Bible, should be taken from them and destroyed, for they are the source of their obstinacy, being directed against Christianity. The next year witnessed the publication of his diatribe, "The Confessions of the Jews," and in 1509 appeared his pamphlet, "The Enemy of the Jews," in which he again made an attack on Jewish books. These publications against the Jews were undoubtedly intended to prepare the public mind for active steps against them. Through the recommendation of Cunigunda, abbess of a convent in Munich, Pfefferkorn obtained an interview with her brother, Emperor Maximilian,

whom he induced to issue an order commanding the Jews to deliver to him (Pfefferkorn) all books containing anything against Christianity, against the Pentateuch, or the Prophets. He was to be sole judge, and his authority was to extend throughout the empire. On his return from Padua, before which the emperor was encamped, Pfefferkorn stopped at Stuttgart to see the celebrated scholar, John Reuchlin, whom he hoped to induce to help him in executing the order. In this, however, he did not succeed, as the great humanist, although he expressed approval of the suppression of books that vilified the Christian religion, excused himself from engaging in the work. Pfefferkorn, baffled in his purpose of obtaining the assistance and countenance of Germany's greatest scholar, proceeded alone on his journey, and began operations at Frankfort. On Friday, the 28th of September, the eve of the Feast of Tabernacles, he appeared in the synagogue with three priests and two town-councilors. In spite of the protests of the Jews, he seized all the books he could lay

hold of. The next day he was to search the private houses, but the Jews objected so vehemently against the desecration of the Sabbath that it was put off till Monday. They saw and felt the danger coming. They knew that this confiscation of books was only an introduction to the assaults on property and life bound to follow, although, at the time, they did not know that Pfefferkorn was hand in glove with the Dominicans, nor of the designs of the latter upon the wealth of the Jews. Excited by the confiscation, and divining what might follow, they put forth every effort to have Pfefferkorn's proceedings checked. With the aid of the archbishop, whose dignity had been affronted, because he had not been consulted, they succeeded in obtaining a stay of the proceedings. Nothing daunted, Pfefferkorn again visited the emperor, and succeeded in obtaining a second order, more explicit than the first. It named the committee of inquiry to look into the Jewish books, and among its members were Hoogstraten, the grand inquisitor of the Dominican order; John Reuch-

lin, and Victor von Carben, "formerly a rabbi and now a priest." To the great surprise of the conspirators, Reuchlin declined to serve, and wrote a defense of all Jewish books except such as contained direct aspersions on Christianity. In it, he told, in rather plain words, his opinion of Pfefferkorn. The Jews were saved, as the fight was now on between Reuchlin and the Pfefferkorn party, that is, the Dominicans. Publications containing most bitter recriminations appeared on both sides. The friends of the two parties took up the cudgels, too, and the result was that Pfefferkorn was so belabored that he exposed himself to the ridicule of all times. The greatest satire of the Middle Ages, the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* appeared anonymously at this time. These letters are supposed to be the production of Crotus Rubianus and Ulrich von Hutten. The Dominicans, who were supposed to have inspired the actions of Pfefferkorn to advance their ulterior designs against the Jews, are ridiculed in the sharpest possible manner. Pfefferkorn, too, comes in for

his share of satirical notice, ridicule and abuse. So, for once, the enemy of the Jews was baffled. What had promised to be the beginning of persistent outrages upon the Jews—for the confiscation of their books would have led to serious evils and outbreaks—was nipped in the bud by the fortunate refusal of Reuchlin to have anything to do with the work inaugurated by Pfefferkorn. The Jews emerged from what was unquestionably a great difficulty with the loss of nothing more than what money may have been required to bribe the archbishop and the town councilors to stay the proceedings in the first instance. That they were frightened, we can readily believe. The immediate steps they took saved them.

The other incident to which reference was made above was much more serious in its consequences. The guilds in Frankfort were always very strong. They had a particular animosity against the Jews, and were continually laboring to effect their expulsion from the city. Not succeeding in this, an attack on the Jewish

quarter was determined upon. The leader was a baker, Vincent Fettmilch. On August 22, 1640, the attack was made. The Jews, having been warned, did not quietly wait for the attack, but made preparations to resist. They procured arms, removed their wives and children to the cemetery for refuge, locked the gates that led into their street, and barricaded the gate upon which the attack was expected. They then proceeded to the synagogue, and prayed and fasted. While assembled there, they heard the blows upon the gates and the angry cries of the mob. In terror they poured out of the synagogue, men and youths taking up arms to defend themselves. The mob, foiled by the barricade of the gate, broke into the street through a house which stood next to the gate. A bitter fight of eight hours followed; two Jews and one Christian were killed, and many wounded. The Jews, few in number, were gradually overcome. Then began a fearful scene of plunder and destruction. The mob rushed into the houses. They had proceeded about half way through the street

when a band of armed citizens appeared and drove them out. The Jews, thoroughly frightened, hastened to seek refuge in their cemetery, situated at the end of the *Gasse*, in which they had placed their wives and children. They were advised by the town council to leave the city, since it could not protect them. On the next day, they did this, and for one year and a half they remained away from the city, and lived in the neighboring towns. In the meantime, order had been restored, and steps were taken looking to the return of the Jews. The leaders of the mob, Fettmilch and six others, were beheaded. On the very day that this took place, February 28, 1616, the Jews returned. Their return was celebrated with music. When they arrived in front of the *Gasse*, they were formed into a circle, and the new *Judenordnung*, drawn up by the imperial commissioners, was read to them. The town council having shown itself so powerless to guard them, the protection of the Jews reverted to the emperor; they once again became his private property. After their

return into their "street," a large shield was placed upon each of the three gates, upon which was painted the imperial eagle with the inscription, "Under the protection of the Roman Imperial Majesty and of the Holy Empire." Strange to say, the Christian population was compelled by imperial mandate to pay the Jews 175,919 florins indemnity for the loss they had sustained. In memory of these events, the Jewish congregation of Frankfort annually celebrated two events, the 19th of Adar, as a fast day commemorative of their departure from the city, and the 20th as a holiday, called Purim Fcttmilch, in memory of their return.

The next event of great importance was the complete destruction of the *Gasse* by fire in 1711. The population had greatly increased, but the space for habitation was not enlarged. The number of houses did not increase, and the one hundred and ninety houses that, in a former day, had sheltered but two thousand persons, were now the homes of some eight thousand, according to the smallest calculation the Jew-

ish population at this time. Each house, therefore, on an average harbored forty-one persons. The *Gasse* is an example of the worst evils of the tenement system. On January 14, 1711, fire broke out in the house of the chief rabbi, which stood in the middle of the "street." The cause of the fire was never discovered. It wiped out the Jewish quarter completely, and was called the great Jewish conflagration, in contradistinction to the great Christian conflagration eight years later. The Christian population, as soon as the fact of the raging of the fire became known, hurried to the *Gasse* to give assistance. But the Jews, in an agony of terror, and remembering former days, had locked the gates for fear of plunder, and kept them closed for an hour. When, at last, they opened them the flames had gained great headway. The fire spread throughout the quarter, and with the exception of three houses standing at the extreme end of the street, everything was destroyed. The Jews, now homeless, had to look about for shelter. Some were harbored in Christian

houses. After the "street" was rebuilt, they lingered in these houses with the hope that they might be permitted to remain outside the *Gasse*, and have freedom of residence, but they were all ordered back in 1716. Some who could not find shelter in the city, settled in neighboring towns, until their homes were rebuilt, while the very poor were placed, by the town council, in a hospital, to sojourn there until their dwelling places were restored. The rebuilding began almost at once. The synagogue was completed by the autumn of the same year. It stood until 1854, when the large and beautiful building, dedicated in 1860, was built in its place. By the year 1717 all the houses were rebuilt. In the process of reconstruction the street was widened by four feet, so that it was twenty feet wide. Houses of not more than three stories were permitted to be built, but most of them had gables. Back buildings one story higher were erected, hence the yards were very small, but by decree each house had to be six feet from the wall along the

back of the *Gasse*. On the houses they were compelled to place signs, with peculiar figures and names, so that they were known as the house of the bear, the dragon, of the white, green, red, black shield, etc. The inhabitants were designated according to these figures, e. g. the Jew N. N. *zum Bären*, etc. The Rothschild family received its name from the red shield that marked its house.

The "street" again suffered from fire in 1774 and in 1796. In the former instance twenty-one houses were destroyed. The inhabitants rented houses without the *Gasse* for two years until their homes were rebuilt, when they again had to return. In the latter year, the fire assumed larger dimensions, and one hundred and forty houses were destroyed. This was during the bombardment of the city by the French under Kleber, July 12 to 14. This portion, called *Bornheimer Strasse*, was soon rebuilt, and very greatly improved by being widened and having fine buildings erected upon it.

The *Judengasse* was now approaching

its end. Better days were beginning to dawn for the Jews. The breath of freedom and emancipation characteristic of the close of the last and the beginning of this century was wafted upon them, too. In 1806, Frankfort and some neighboring districts were placed under the jurisdiction of the enlightened and kindly Karl Theodor von Dalberg, the *Fürst Primas*. He took great interest in the improvement of the Jews of his domain, and assisted them greatly in their efforts towards self-advancement, in the founding of schools, and the like. In 1811 he granted them full rights of citizenship, but in the reaction that ensued shortly after, he was deprived of his rule, and the Jews lost the rights he had granted them.

After the fall of Napoleon and the consequent relapse into mediævalism and mediæval legislation against the Jews in the German states and cities, the Jews of Frankfort suffered, too. The *hep-hep* cry again resounded in the streets, the Jewish houses were attacked, the Jews driven from the promenades. In conse-

quence of these disturbances many Jewish families left the city. The second and third decades of this century were a gloomy time for the Jews of Germany; the emancipation question was uppermost, and gallantly did the Jewish champions, headed by Gabriel Riesser, conduct the struggle. In this agitation the Jews of Frankfort were likewise concerned, and in 1848 they once again gained the right of citizenship, but in 1850 they lost it, to receive it a third time in 1864. Since then they have retained it, and, of course, as far as political rights are concerned, are now on an equal footing with all citizens of the German Empire.

A few words more about the *Gasse*. Even after it had been rebuilt after the great fire of 1711, it was as gloomy and cheerless as it had been. The high, gabled houses built so close together naturally kept out all sunlight and air. So it continued—except in the western portion, which was burnt in 1796, and rebuilt, as stated above—until the year 1830, when a large number of the houses were con-

demned by the city authorities because of their ruinous condition, and their removal from both sides of the street produced empty spaces through which the air could circulate. As soon as the note of emancipation was struck, in the beginning of the century, many Jews removed from the *Gasse*, nor were they compelled to return thither. The empty houses were rented, and occupied by the poorer classes of Christians, so that, except in name and memory, it was no longer distinctively the *Judengasse*, the Jewish quarter. Two of the houses were of especial interest, that in which Löb Baruch, or, as he is known in German literature, Ludwig Börne, was born, and the ancestral home of the Rothschild family.

About ten years ago, the houses in the old portion of the street fell in because of age and decay. They were demolished and removed, with the exception of the Rothschild house. This portion of the street was then broadened to a width equal to that of *Bornheimer Strasse*, the section of the old street which had been improved

and widened in the early part of the century, and the two portions became one street, the present *Börne Strasse*, a wide thoroughfare, possessing no similarity to the old, narrow *Gasse*. A great portion of the street remains to be built up. The old wall that separated the street in the early days from the old quarter of the city is still standing; a street leading to *Börne Strasse* has been broken through it.

One important relic of the old time is still preserved; at the very end of what is now *Börne Strasse*, and what was formerly the *Judengasse*, enclosed by a high wall, and hidden from the view of the passer-by, lies the old cemetery⁶² of the Frankfort Jewish congregation, containing, with the exception of some in the cemetery at Worms, the oldest epitaph in western Europe. This was the spot to which the Jews removed their wives and children and helpless ones during the persecutions and the attacks made on the *Gasse* by the mobs.⁶³ The cemetery is now in a sad state of neglect; many of the stones have fallen to the ground, and lie in

great confusion, and many are beginning to crumble. In the eastern end of the graveyard the graves are thick and close together. Near the entrance there are but few tombstones, only a number of small groups, here and there. This is explained by the surmise that the eastern portion was set aside for the burial of Frankfort Jews, while the smaller groups of graves are those of small communities in the vicinity of Frankfort, which made use of this burying ground for the interment of their dead. The cemetery is large, and contains over six thousand tombstones. The inscriptions on these stones offer much material to the student of Jewish history and customs. "Of the immense store which the cemetery at Frankfort-on-the-Main offers, only a slight portion has been published."⁶⁴ This statement is true, but all the inscriptions have been copied through the instrumentality of Dr. Horowitz, the rabbi of the new synagogue overlooking the old cemetery. He has collated them, and ere long the learned world may be enriched by their

publication. The earliest tombstone in the cemetery dates from the year 1272; the last burial took place in 1828, when the town council decreed that it should be no longer used for purposes of burial, and that it should lie undisturbed for one hundred years. The graves are two and three deep, perhaps more, the surface having been covered over with additional layers of earth whenever the available space had been used. This appears from two facts: in the first place, the burial ground proper is higher than the adjacent walks; and there are often two or three stones on the same grave. The stones are of red sandstone, with the exception of the oldest, which are gray. These have stood the wear of time best; they are still thoroughly well preserved, while many of the later ones are crumbling. The inscriptions are for the most part legible, and some of the stones display very artistic work, the sign of the house in which the departed had lived often being carved on them,⁶⁵ so that there are stones ornamented with figures of dragons, bears, lions, stars, and the like.

The most beautiful piece of work is on a stone belonging to a family Trach (*drache*)—a dragon most artistically hewn, and sculptured flowers on the rim.

Very celebrated rabbis lie buried here, in fact, all the rabbis of the Frankfort congregation, among them the author of the celebrated *P'ne Yehoshuah* and Rabbi Pinchas Hurwitz.⁶⁶

Walking through this cemetery, where now all is peace and rest and quiet, I could not but think of the terrible days of the past, and the scenes this spot had witnessed, and there arose before me the vision of the hundreds of unfortunates, who, in that terrible night of September 1, 1614, during the Fettmilch attack, were massed in the "home of the dead," about the graves of their fathers. When all opposition was seen to be fruitless, the men repaired to the place to which, in the earlier period of the affray, they had moved their wives and children. All hope seemed cut off. "We will sanctify the name of God," cried they. They donned their shrouds, and determined to meet death

rather than disgrace. They prepared themselves for the supreme moment by giving voice to the confession of their sinfulness and their belief in the divine justice. With terror and trembling they awaited the dawning of another day. A report came to their ears that the mob had disagreed. Yes, it was true ; by the aid of the town council they made their escape from the cemetery, and with their bare lives, homeless, houseless, they left Frankfort to seek shelter in the surrounding towns.⁶⁷

A troubled vision of the night of the past, by contrast making the present all the brighter !

To return now to the Ghetto : The houses of the *Gasse* were all very much alike. They were frame, with the exception of one stone house. On account of the gloom of the street they were very dark inside. Some points of their inner construction furnish eloquent testimony of the times in which they were built and the continual fear of attack and persecution in which their occupants lived. Many of the houses had no steps leading to the roof,

only a ladder, which could be pulled up by those who had fled to the roof from their pursuers. For a like reason, namely, protection in time of danger from the outbreaks of mobs, the cellars of neighboring houses were connected by doors, concealed by cupboards. Through these doors the occupants of the houses, if hard pressed, could flee into the cellar of the adjoining residence. Thank God that such precautions are no longer necessary! In the new and better time, the Jew is not marked off by his place of residence; justice being done, the marks of oppression have disappeared. The *Judengasse* of Frankfort is no more. The memories of the days of persecution are permitted to sink into oblivion. The veil of forgiveness has been dropped over them by those so deeply wronged, and in this new time the Jews of Frankfort have assimilated themselves with their fellow citizens, and stand on an equal footing with them in all civic interests.

CHAPTER V.

THE JUDENSTADT OF PRAGUE.

To the tourist visiting the city of Prague, by far the most interesting spot in this gloomy, gray place is the old Jewish quarter lying on the right bank of the river Moldau, of old designated *Judenstadt*, but now known as *Josefstadt*. This ancient quarter with its narrow streets, its old synagogues, its burying ground famed in story, its town hall reminiscent of the days when the Jewish administrative body exercised judicial functions, its legends, its history, cannot but awaken a mournful train of thought in him who, permitting his mind to dwell on the past, recalls the sad, sad fate of this Ghetto, with one exception probably the oldest Jewish settlement north of the Alps. Not a single street, as in Frankfort, but a whole section of the city did the Jewish quarter of Prague comprise. It is standing much as it was,

but it is no longer the compulsory dwelling place of Jews, although largely inhabited by them. Many Christians, especially of the poorer classes, now dwell there too. The walls and gates, which in the old days separated the Jewish quarter from the remainder of the city, have disappeared, but the spot in which they stood is still pointed out. The streets scarcely deserve to be called such, so narrow, crowded, dark and gloomy are they. The houses on either side tower aloft, shutting out the sunlight, so that even on a bright day the lanes rest in shadow. Many stirring scenes have these streets witnessed. Had the stones tongues, what stories could they tell of mobs and plunder, of persecution and murder, of incendiarism and robbery, of fight and strife, of bravery and martyrdom, of silent suffering and heroic endurance! The history of the Jewish community of Prague dates from days long past, through many centuries, during which it proudly claimed to be the greatest and most important congregation in Europe. Great names of celebrated rabbis, writers

and heroes, shed lustre over that old *Judenstadt*, and make it shine with a glory that will never fade. Dark spots there are, too, of superstition, for there is no Jewish community in the world so full of superstitions, legends and traditions as this of Prague, but these gradually disappear in the light of investigation, while the true and great things there thought and accomplished live on forever.

The early history of the Jews of Prague is shrouded in mystery. Concerning the time when they first settled in the city, or entered Bohemia, there is no authentic information. The statement that a flourishing Jewish community existed in Prague during the time of the second Temple must be regarded as purely legendary. That there were many Jews in Prague during the earliest Christian centuries may be true, but there is no contemporary evidence of the fact; that Jews may have lived in the city in quite ancient times is very possible, but the date of their first entrance into the land and their earliest settlement cannot be fixed. There can be

no doubt that Jews lived in Bohemia and in Prague in heathen times, before the introduction of Christianity in the tenth century.⁶⁸ Their first settlement lay on the left bank of the river Moldau. When their numbers increased and their quarters became too small, they were assigned, in all likelihood in the eleventh century, a new and larger dwelling place on the right bank of the river, the present *Josefstadt*. The Jews were not compelled to live in this one section. They dwelt in various quarters of the city until the middle of the fifteenth century (1473), when, after a destructive pestilence that decimated the population, all the Jews not yet in the *Judenstadt* determined to cast in their lot with their brethren there, and so all were merged into the one great community,⁶⁹ which became "a mother in Israel," an influential congregation. Great rabbis flourished there, schools of Jewish learning arose and prospered, men and women whose names are honored in history lived their life in this Ghetto, and all the phenomena that characterize mediæval Jewish

history appeared there. Sacred memories, indeed, this Ghetto cherishes, and dark happenings, too, that speak ill for human kind; grand achievements of learning, heroism and philanthropy brighten its annals, but pages blackened with the record of internal strife and superstition peep forth, too. In this long history of centuries are mirrored the manifold acts that make up the sum of human endeavor, and the record of the Jewish community of Prague, with its lights and shadows, its glories and degradations, presents a faithful picture of the course of human life as it ebbed and flowed in the narrow confines of Jewry during the centuries that preceded the emancipation of the present.

First, as to the external history of the community. It was subject to many persecutions and expulsions and extortions. The story is much the same as that of the Jews everywhere. During the crusades, the time fraught with so much misery for these hapless ones, when the mobs fell upon the Jewish communities, and murder, carnage and plunder held high carnival,

the *Judenstadt* of Prague came in for its share of the gentle mercies of the crusaders. Drunk with the blood of the victims whom they had slaughtered or driven to death in the German cities, the crusaders came to Bohemia, attacked the Jews of Prague, dragged them to baptism, and killed those who resisted. In vain good Bishop Cosmas preached against these terrible proceedings; the crusaders paid no heed to his words.⁷⁰ This was in the year 1099. During the third crusade the mobs on their way to Palestine passed through Bohemia, and in Prague demanded money from the Jews. They refused to comply with this request, and the crusaders resorted to violence. It is refreshing to note that the Jews resisted so successfully that the crusaders were forced to draw off without having accomplished their object.⁷¹

In the year 1389 occurred the most terrible persecution to which the Jews of Prague were ever subjected. On Easter Sunday (April 18) of that year, a priest carrying the pyx was passing through the

Jewish quarter. Some Jewish children were playing in the sand on the street (it was the last day of Passover), pelting one another with pebbles. Some of the pebbles chanced to strike the priest, which so enraged him and those who accompanied him that they abused the children shamefully. The parents of the children, alarmed by their cries, hastened to the spot to aid them. The priest now hurried away into the city, crying aloud that his office had been desecrated by the Jews, that they had pelted him with stones, so that the host had fallen from his hands. Thereupon the citizens of Prague descended upon the homes of the Jews, and offered them the alternative of baptism or death. The Jews, refusing to forswear their faith, were murdered by the thousands on that day and the following night. Many Jews, among others the aged rabbi, killed their own dear ones to save them from the fury of the mob, and then themselves. The synagogues, with one exception, were destroyed, and even the dead were not left in peace. The great ceme-

tery was devastated, the tombstones were destroyed⁷² (so that there is now no stone in the cemetery dating from earlier than the fifteenth century), and the corpses were disinterred, stripped, and left to rot on the streets. The pope, more merciful, issued a bull on July 2, denouncing these barbarities, and referring to the edict of Innocent IV, which forbade the forcible baptism of the Jews, or the interference with them on their holidays. The king, Wenceslaus, declared that the Jews deserved their fate, because they had had the hardihood to leave their houses on Easter Sunday and appear on the streets. It was a canon law that the Jews should not be seen on the streets during Holy Week, and the law was wise, for collisions were bound to take place between the followers of the two religions. Some Jews, without doubt, would take occasion to mock, so that the command to remain in-doors was well-intentioned. Indeed it has been maintained that this terrible persecution arose from the fact that some Jews mocked the priest.⁷³

Many of the greatest evils were brought upon the Jews by apostates, who often thought to ingratiate themselves with their new comrades by bringing accusations and spreading calumnies against their old co-religionists. Their method usually was to declare that here and there in the Jewish writings there was some attack upon Christianity or its founder. By specious arguments they worked up the easily influenced populace and priesthood (for the most part ignorant and not understanding one word of Hebrew) against the Jews, and in spite of protest, declarations that the accusations were false, the deposition of clear proof, and the explanation of the passages in question, the unfortunates, condemned by public opinion no matter what they might say, always had to suffer. As though their cup of bitterness were not full enough, the Jews had to bear with ills inflicted on them by those who had gone forth from their own midst. At the end of the fourteenth century (1399), one of these converted Jews, by name Pesach, changed into Peter with his change of religion,

leveled a new accusation against his former brethren in faith by declaring that a blasphemous charge against Jesus is contained in that sublime concluding prayer of the Jewish service known as *Aleinu*, which gives expression to the belief in the unity of God and to the hope for the time when superstition and idolatry will disappear, and God alone will be recognized. The lie was credited, many Jews of Prague were arrested, seventy-seven executed, and three publicly burnt.⁷⁴

So rose and fell the waves of Jewish life ; the Jews were only a tolerated class. The story is the same all over Europe ; they were subject to caprice of ruler and mob. It must not be imagined that there was continual persecution ; there were many intervals of peace, in which the regular avocations of life were calmly pursued, but at any moment the peace might be broken, and new miseries fall to the lot of the inhabitants of the Ghetto. Of course, the petty persecutions to which Jews were subjected everywhere, the inhabitants of the Prague Ghetto experienced. The

compulsion to wear the distinguishing mark on their clothes, the prohibition to employ Christian nurses for their children, and many other like prohibitions embittered their lives, but they grew accustomed to these things, too. They had to pay extra taxes of various kinds. Time and again they were threatened with expulsion from the land, and it was only by the expenditure of great sums that they succeeded in staying the execution of the decree. Rulers and people seem to have lost all human feeling in dealing with the Jews. Even in the possession of their books and writings they were not left undisturbed. The confiscations and burning of Jewish books, alleged to contain blasphemies against Christianity and its founder, form an interesting chapter in the account of the mediæval oppression of the Jews.⁷⁵ For instance, in the year 1559, all Jewish books and manuscripts found in the Jewish quarter of Prague, including prayer books, eighty hundred-weight in all, were confiscated, and sent to Vienna. In the same year a conflagration broke out

in the Jewish quarter, and destroyed a great number of dwellings. Instead of assisting the unfortunates to quench the fire, the Christian populace threw weak women into the flames, and plundered where they could. Two years later, in 1561, Ferdinand I, who had long been working towards that end, ordered their expulsion from the city. For years they had succeeded in preventing the carrying out of the dread order, but now they were compelled to wander forth. The emperor met all appeals to reconsider the decree with the statement that he had vowed to expel the Jews from Prague, and could not break his oath. Yet was the expulsion revoked, and that, too, in a most unexpected and dramatic manner. Mordecai Zemach Kohen, a Jew of Prague, whose tombstone still stands in the great cemetery, determined, if possible, to rescue his brethren from the terrible calamity. He journeyed to Rome, by some means obtained an audience with Pope Pius IV, received a dispensation absolving the emperor from his vow, and the Jews were permitted to return in March of the following year.⁷⁶

In the beginning of the seventeenth century there were about ten thousand Jews in Prague,⁷⁷ and they were quite prosperous. There had been a lull in the persecutions. Under the emperors Rudolph and Matthias the Jewish quarter attained unexampled splendor. Mordecai Meisel, the great benefactor of the Prague Jewish community, lived during this time (1548—1601). The emperors had issued privileges and shown much favor to individual Jews, notably Meisel and Jacob Bassewi. The latter was afterwards ennobled on account of his services to the imperial house, took the name of von Treuenberg, and was permitted to adopt a coat of arms (blue lion and eight red stars on a blue background). These privileges to individual Jews redounded to the benefit of the community at large, and the people enjoyed happy days. But with the Bohemian revolt in 1619, an early incident of the bloody Thirty Years' War, the happy condition of the Jews' quarter changed almost in a twinkling. The adherents of the Protestant elector palatine, Frederick,

king of Bohemia, made the Jewish quarter the object of pillaging attack, because of the loyalty of the Jews to the Catholic imperial house. This loyalty brought them fitting reward. At the celebrated battle of White Mountain, November 8, 1620, the imperial troops gained a decided victory, and at once proceeded to invest the capital city of Prague. Now followed days and weeks of plunder and bloodshed, but, marvelous to say, the Jews, always the first victims on such occasions, were unexpectedly protected. The commander of the imperial forces, remembering the faithfulness of the Jews to his cause, stationed guards before the gates of the Jewish quarter, and thus this section of the city was saved from the horrors of war rampant in all other quarters of the town. In remembrance of this unexpected deliverance, the rabbinate appointed the day, the 14th of Marcheshwan, an annual fast and feast day, the forenoon to be spent in fasting, in memory of the tribulation and terror of the people before deliverance came; the afternoon in feast-

ing, in memory of the salvation. This day was known as the Prague Purim.⁷⁸ The rich Jews of Prague were granted permission to purchase the houses abandoned by the Protestants who had sought safety in flight.

Emperor Ferdinand continued to show favor to the Jews of Prague. In 1623 he issued a *privilegium* from Ratisbon, in which it was decreed that the Jews of Prague were not to be held responsible for the debts of the Jews of the rest of Bohemia, and that they need pay no higher taxes than the Christians. The allegations of the elders of the community of Prague were to be respected, and the Jews of Bohemia were to be permitted to pursue trade without hindrance. In 1628 he enlarged these privileges, and ordered the Jews to pay 40,000 fl. yearly, and so free themselves from all other taxes.

During the whole long struggle, the Jews continued faithful to the imperial house. The war was ended in Prague, where it had begun. When the Swedes approached the city, and besieged it, the

Jewish quarter, which lay on the bank of the river, was especially open to their attacks, and the Jews threw up a redoubt, known as the Jews' redoubt. The quarter was bombarded, and the inhabitants suffered greatly. When the nobles and other inhabitants of Prague went forth to do battle with the enemy, the Jews were left behind to patrol and guard the city. They were continually engaged in repairing the gaps made in the fortifications and in throwing up new redoubts. Several of them lost their lives. The treaty of Westphalia brought the contest to an end, and the evil days were past. In celebration of the cessation of the siege and the deliverance of the city, the Jews had a public procession with music, and at the head of the line of march were carried two flags presented to them by former emperors. As a reward for their bravery and constancy during the siege, they were given permission to have a small bell in the Jewish town hall to call the people together when important matters were to be decided.⁷⁹ Besides, in recognition of their action on

this occasion, Emperor Ferdinand III increased their privileges and rights by granting them permission to live in all imperial cities and possessions, from which they were not to be expelled without the knowledge of the emperor. They were also permitted to engage in all trades and industries except the manufacture of arms.⁸⁰ But dark days were again coming. In 1679 the Jewish quarter was visited by a conflagration; eight years later, in 1687, a second conflagration devastated the quarter, and laid it almost completely in ruins. The Jews were, therefore, necessitated to seek shelter in Christian homes. The archbishop forbade the priests to administer the rite of extreme unction to Christians who had received Jews into their homes. When he refused to reconsider the heartless order, the people appealed to the emperor, who had shown himself more humane. He replied that he knew it to be forbidden for Jews and Christians to live together, but that he considered the present an exceptional case. He warned the Jews, however, not to mock or scoff at the Christians.⁸¹

The last expulsion of the Jews from Prague took place in 1744. On the 23d of December of the preceding year, Empress Maria Theresa had issued a decree that by the end of 1744 all Jews must leave Bohemia. Entreaties, expostulations availed naught. With the exception of a very few favored ones, all the Jews had to leave Prague. The usual consequences of such a measure followed; trade languished and real estate declined in value, for the sudden withdrawal of a large, active and industrious portion of the population always has a deleterious effect. The petitions for the return of the Jews on the part of the authorities, the tradesmen and the populace of the city generally, became so urgent and persistent that in 1748 the empress found herself compelled to yield, and granted the Jews permission to return, on condition that they paid, in conjunction with their co-religionists in Moravia and Silesia, an annual Jew-tax of 300,000 florins in addition to the regular taxes. This tax was exacted up to the year 1848.⁸²

Towards the close of the century, the

new spirit began to affect the reigning house of Hapsburg, too, and Emperor Joseph II commenced to improve the condition of the Jews. The emancipation of the Jews went steadily forward, sustaining reverses at times, it is true, but the freedom making itself felt everywhere could not but affect the condition of the Jews, and in 1848—wondrous year—the Jewish quarter or Ghetto of Prague ceased to be the compulsory dwelling place of the Jews. They were permitted to live in all quarters of the city; gradually the gates and walls were removed; poorer classes of Christians moved into the vacated houses. The quarter with many of its old landmarks, which will be described briefly, still stands, occupied, in great part, by Jews, but there is a vast difference between the voluntary domicile of this day and the compulsory dwelling place of the dark centuries of the past.

A few of the salient events of the outer history of the Jews of Prague having been given, some pages may now be devoted to the inner life, the description of the Ghetto and its prominent features.

The Jewish community of Prague was, with the exception of that of Amsterdam, the largest in Europe during mediæval times. The *Judenstadt* was large, and was separated from the city by nine gates, which were locked and barred every night from within. The Jews had their own jurisdiction, and the directory, composed of the chief men of the community, superintended the police regulations. Civil suits were decided by the college of rabbis. In short, the Jewish community was to a certain extent self-ruling, and in this differed from other European Jewish communities. From early times this had been the case. In the year 1268, by a friendly decree of Ottokar II, the Jews were released from the jurisdiction of the aldermen of the city, and provision was made for the appointment of a *judex Judæorum*, a judge of the Jews, who was to decide in civil and criminal cases. The synagogue was to be the court of justice, and was declared inviolable. Since decisions were given among the Jews according to the rabbinical code, this judge always had to be a

rabbi; he presided at the sessions of the court. At the head of the political administration stood the president of the congregation, known as the *primator*. As just stated, the synagogue was the seat of justice. This was the case until the close of the sixteenth century, when the town hall, which is still standing, was built by Mordecai Meisel, and used thereafter for all judicial functions, and the synagogue was employed for its proper purpose, the holding of religious service. The town hall is joined to a synagogue known as the *Hoch-Synagoge*, which served as a sort of private chapel for the councilors, and for the fulfilment of religious duties connected with the dispensation of justice. The town hall is graced with a tower, on which is a curious dial with the hours marked in Hebrew and Arabic numerals. After the conflagration of 1754, the town hall was rebuilt (on its door appears the date 1755), and the bell of the tower recast. On this bell may be read in Hebrew characters, "renewed in the year 5525," i. e. 1764. In 1627, Ferdinand II, the mon-

arch who was so kindly disposed toward the Jews of the city, declared the *Judenstadt* an independent district, with its own magistrates and jurisdiction. Two judicial bodies were now formed, a lower and a higher court. The judges of the lower court held daily public sessions. They adjudicated in litigations of small import. The higher court composed of the college of rabbis, the chief rabbi at the head, was the court of appeal, to which cases could be carried from the lower court, suits of great importance being brought before it in the first instance. In 1784 this separate Jewish rabbinical jurisdiction was abolished. The affairs of the Jewish community were then placed under the supervision of the town magistrate.⁸³ At present, since the year 1849, the old town hall serves as an office building for the directors of the religious affairs of the congregation.

Directly opposite the town hall stands an old, venerable structure, not very large, but the most interesting building in the whole quarter. The ancient house is

known as the *Alt-neu Synagoge*, the "Old-new synagogue," the building that has stood the wear and tear of time, that has existed through the long, sad history of the ages. Many harrowing scenes of man's inhumanity to man, and many sublime instances of supreme faithfulness and steadfastness even in death have its walls witnessed. Old, centuries old, is the building, and many have been the theories as to the time of its construction. The name, "Old-new synagogue," seems to indicate that at one time the old synagogue was renewed, and in truth, at the first glance it becomes evident that the building consists of two entirely distinct portions, the older, lower story being in the Byzantine style of architecture, the upper, newer in the Gothic. The tradition of the Ghetto has it that the older portion dates from the sixth, the newer from the thirteenth century. Late investigators have concluded that neither is so old; that the older part was constructed in the twelfth, and the newer in the fourteenth century.⁸⁴

The synagogue is entered by steps leading down to the floor of the building, which lies lower than the street. According to tradition, it was so built in fulfilment of the word of the Psalmist, "Out of the depths have I cried unto Thee, O Lord!" Beautiful and poetical as is this thought, in the light of historical research it has been dissipated, for it has been established that at one time the street was much lower than at present, and that the building was then on a level with the street; that later the street was raised, and the building, now being lower, had to be reached by descending steps. The interior is small and gloomy; there is no gallery, and the women had to be content with looking through the small windows situated at intervals along the northern wall. A conspicuous object in the synagogue is the great red flag attached to one of the pillars opposite the entrance, ornamented with the shield of David, within it the Swede's hat, and bearing the inscription, "'The Lord of Hosts, full is the whole earth of His glory'! In the year 5117 A. M.,

(i. e. 1357) his Majesty, Emperor Charles IV, granted the Jews the distinction and the privilege of carrying a flag. This was renewed in the reign of Emperor Ferdinand. Damaged by the wear of time, it is now renewed in honor of our lord, Emperor Charles VI, may God increase his glory! On the occasion of the birth of his exalted son, Archduke Leopold, in the year 1716." The privilege of carrying a flag in their processions was highly prized by the Jews. Whenever an emperor came to Prague, and the Jews formed in procession to meet him, the flag was brought forth. The Swede's hat, embroidered within the shield of David on the flag, is the coat of arms granted the Jews by Ferdinand II, in recognition of their bravery and their services during the siege of the city by the Swedes. The flag is now merely a relic, and has lost its former significance and importance, but the Jews of Prague still point to it with pride, as the symbol embodying the patriotism of the early inhabitants of the Ghetto and their faithfulness to the government and the land of their residence.

The interior of the synagogue is dark and gloomy. The gloom was until within the past few years much greater even than it is now, the walls being black with the dust and mold of centuries. There was a tradition that these walls had been bespattered with the blood of the martyrs of the great persecution of 1389, and for fear of obliterating the traces, the rabbis continually protested against a cleansing of the walls. This gave the old building a sombre appearance, and increased the natural gloom in which the interior was shrouded, so that it appeared indeed a relic of a sad, dark, gloomy past. Lately the interior has been renovated, and what it may have lost as a relic of sad antiquity, it has gained in cheer. The history of the old house of worship is remarkable. It passed unscathed through fire and flood. In the great conflagrations which visited the Ghetto, and to which allusion has been made, the flames devoured the buildings in its immediate vicinity, but it escaped unharmed, for great efforts were always made to save it. During the devastating inunda-

tions of the river Moldau, to which the Ghetto, lying on the bank of the stream, was especially exposed, time and again buildings were swept away, but the old synagogue successfully withstood the attacks of water, as it had of fire, and even during the persecutions, when cruelty ran riot, and the Ghetto was despoiled by murderous, plundering mobs, the maddened populace seemed to regard this old structure with awe, possibly with superstitious dread, for never was it despoiled or ruined. Within its walls, the poor, hunted creatures gathered in the days of persecution. At one time, as has been stated, some met their death there, and their life-blood stained the walls. Here, too, they assembled in troubled days to pray for help and strength. No wonder that there gathered about it a mass of legends, superstitions and traditions, that it became the object of the people's loving care and solicitude, that it embodied for them all the glory of their faith, and became the symbol for the long, sad tale of their history. Many a larger, more pre-

tentious house of worship has arisen in the city, but none is and none can ever be regarded with the affection and reverence that cling to the *Alt-neu Schul*, bound up as it is with the life and sufferings of centuries, entwined with memories sad, rare, and glorious, a monument of the past transported into the newer, better present, a link between what has gone before and what is.

A few minutes' walk down the street to the right leads to the great cemetery, the home of the dead. The graves are three and four deep, and, therefore, the top of the mounds is much higher than the street without, and the floor of the synagogue next to the graveyard lies many feet lower than the cemetery. The tombstones are very close together; some are beginning to crumble, the inscriptions on others are still very legible; the epitaphs have all been copied, and a list of the Jewish families of Prague made in accordance with the information gleaned from these silent witnesses. The cemetery, known as the *Judengarten*, "the Jews' garden," was ac-

quired for this purpose in the reign of Ottokar II, in 1254. The oldest tombstones were destroyed in the terrible persecution of 1389, when the mob, in its fury, did not spare even the resting-places of the dead. The oldest existing epitaph dates from the year 1439.⁸⁵ Above the entrance to the cemetery one reads the inscription in Hebrew and German :

“Reverence for antiquity ;
Respect for ownership ;
Rest for the dead.”

This inscription dates from the year 1837, and finds its explanation in the following circumstance: in that year the Jews of the city, finding their quarters too crowded, petitioned the town council to give them permission to live outside the Ghetto. The council concluded to grant the Jews permission to devote the ground of the old cemetery, not employed as a burial-place for over forty years, to building purposes, and in this manner enlarge the Jewish quarter. In consequence of this, Rabbi Samuel Landau had the inscription placed at the entrance. Needless

to say, the permission of the council was not taken advantage of, and the cemetery not disturbed.

As one wanders among the graves, most of them old, centuries old, thought cannot but revert to the past and the checkered history of the Jews. Everything is quiet and peaceful now in this home of the dead, the troubled are at rest ; but as we read the names chiseled in the tombstones, some of celebrities who shed glory upon the Jewish community of Prague, most of them unknown or forgotten, we see pass before us the changing views of the panorama of bygone days, depicting scenes in which those resting here, the great and the small, the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant, were the actors. Most of the tombstones are plain slabs, but some over the graves of noted individuals are pretentious monuments. On many of the stones we note engraved figures, symbolical either of the class to which the deceased belonged, or of his condition, or his name. For instance, the tombstones of the Aaronides, i. e., of priestly families, are

adorned with two spreading hands, the fingers in pairs, adjusted in the peculiar way in which the priests held their hands over the people while reciting the benediction. The stone erected over the grave of a descendant of the Levites is marked with a pitcher cut into the stone, while that placed over the resting place of the Israelite who can trace his ancestry back to neither priest nor Levite, is distinguished by a sculptured bunch of grapes. Besides these there are many other symbolical figures ; for example, on the tombstone of a young girl a female figure is at times seen ; on that marking the grave of a young wife, a female figure carrying a rose. The name that the deceased bore, if taken from some object in the animal or vegetable kingdom, so often the case among the Jews, *c. g.*, Wolf, Baer, Rose, Vögele (bird), Taube (pigeon), Blume (flower), Löwe (lion), Veilchen (violet), may be learned from the figures of these objects on the stones. The inscriptions are, of course, in Hebrew, and are a valuable source for the history

of the Jews. They have all been copied, and the more important edited.⁸⁶ In this cemetery of Prague rest celebrated rabbis, renowned scholars, great physicians, noted philanthropists, men and women who in life did their duty well, and in death are not forgotten. Here one reads the epitaph of Mordecai Meisel (1528—1601), the great philanthropist, who paved the whole Jewish quarter, built two synagogues, the so-called *Hoch-Synagoge*, adjoining the *Rathhaus*, and the Meisel *Synagoge*, erected an almshouse, a school, a bath, did untold private charity, and assisted Jewish congregations elsewhere. Here, too, is the grave of Rabbi Judah ben Bezalel, known as the *Hohe Rabbi Löw*, about whose memory innumerable legends float. The people looked upon him as a magician, and the *Josefstadt* of to-day is still replete with traditions of his wonderful powers. Notable among these stories is that of the Homunculus (known among the Jews as the *Golem*), the figure created by him that attended to all his needs. The foundation for these stories

appears to be that he busied himself with scientific experiments. The contents of his interview with Emperor Rudolph, in 1592, never became known, hence it was made the basis of a legend. He was the most celebrated of the chief rabbis of Prague. The house in which he lived is still pointed out, and is marked with a sign, a lion on a blue background. As we pass along, we note the grave of David Gans (1541—1613), the historian, whose book, *Zemach David*, "The Sprout of David," is a chronicle of Jewish events from the creation to the year 1592; also that of the chief rabbi, David Oppenheim (1664—1736), who gathered that great collection of Hebrew books and manuscripts still designated by scholars as the *Bibliotheca Oppenheim*, the pride of the Bodleian library at Oxford, where it is now preserved intact; of Joseph del Medigo, of Candia (1591—1655), one of the most renowned of Jewish scholars—physician, mathematician, philosopher and traveler, pupil of the great Galileo, and physician in ordinary of Prince Radziwill. Not far away rest the

remains of the noble man spoken of above, Mordecai Zemach Kohen, through whose almost superhuman efforts the decree of expulsion issued by Emperor Ferdinand was revoked. Near by is a pretentious monument, erected in memory of one of the noblest and most charitable of women, Hendel, wife of Jacob Bassewi von Treuenberg, ennobled by Emperor Ferdinand II, in 1622 ; and so might many others be named, who, in the old God's acre, sleep the last earthly sleep, and who, in their day, rose far above mediocrity. Only a few of the most renowned have been mentioned. A century has passed since the last interment took place. A relic of the past, the old cemetery remains quiet and undisturbed by the troubled life of the present. Its epitaphs, in their stony silence, are eloquent witnesses of the doings and ambitions of men and ages gone, and as we step beyond its portal, we feel that we are leaving the centuries of persecution and oppression, and are going out into the light of freedom. Of the significance and importance of these epi-

taphs, the great master of Jewish research says :⁸⁷

“The epitaphs were intended to keep alive the memory of the dead unto posterity beyond the time in which the pious affection of relatives and admirers erected them, and the possession or knowledge of these inscriptions, though they reach no further back than the eleventh century, would have an incalculable value in increasing our meager information concerning Jewish families, as well as for literature and history. But nothing was destroyed and uprooted with colder indifference or with more bigoted fanaticism than the Jewish tombstones ; whatever tombstones of an old date existed in numberless places in Europe, Asia and Africa, were either purposely destroyed, or carelessly permitted to disappear. As a matter of course, the purchased sepulchers, together with the epitaphs, were the property of individuals, and the cemeteries acquired from princes, towns and bishops for large sums of money were the possessions of the congregations ; in spite of this the graves were

desecrated and plundered in the thirteenth century in Spain, Italy, France, Germany. 'The sacred stones were thrown upon the streets as an insult, the remains of those who had worshipped God were removed from their graves, and before the eyes of the living the bodies of the dead were trampled upon and plundered' (old prayer); or after the expulsion and killing of the Jews, the graveyards were seized, the tombstones broken to pieces, and used for other purposes. Throughout Germany, between the fourteenth and the sixteenth century, walls, foundations, churches and houses were constructed with Jewish tombstones thus acquired."

So stands still the old Jewish quarter of Prague; its walls have fallen, the Jews have scattered into all quarters of the city beyond its precincts, but still we thread the narrow, crooked streets, and there crowd in upon us thoughts, sad and painful, when we recall the awful scenes here enacted, and at the same time we are thrilled with admiration for the constancy, heroism and bravery of the thousands of Jews in the

dark years and centuries, in which they withstood all the horrors to which they were continually subjected. But through the darkness that overhangs the past gleams a bright light. In the narrow lanes and byways, here and elsewhere, grew up that beautiful Jewish home life that has been one of the means of salvation for the Jews. The story of this life is not recorded, but it is more important than the outer events and misfortunes that historians have made note of. By it the character of the people was formed, and as we look upon the unsightly houses in the Jewish quarter, the wretched exterior seems to float away, and the home scenes of joy and love and religious constancy shine brilliantly forth—perpetual lamps—and explain how, in spite of woe and misery, such as have fallen to the lot of no other people so long and so continuously, the Jews have found strength to live and hope on. Religion and home, faith and love, conviction and affection, these are undying possessions that the Jews clung to and preserved. The evils of the

Ghetto, a hideous nightmare, have passed ; the things that imbued the long-suffering with strength, live forever. The mists dissolve, the sun-light spreads, wrong disappears, the just conquers, God reigns, and right must triumph.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GHETTO OF ROME.

The Jewish community of Rome is undoubtedly the oldest in Europe. The Jews have lived there uninterruptedly since Pompey's time, probably even from an earlier day,⁸⁸ with the possible exception of a short period during the reign of Claudius, who is said to have expelled them from the city.⁸⁹ We have no notice that they were compelled to leave the city at any other time. Even during the terrible days of the crusades, the Jews of Rome were little affected by the cruelty of the mobs, who inflicted untold sufferings on their co-religionists in Germany, France, Austria and Bohemia. Their condition in imperial and papal Rome was usually bearable, for, in many instances, the popes were

kind, although there were occupants of the see of St. Peter who did all in their power to harass, humiliate and oppress them. Their residence of two thousand years in Rome, the center of Christianity, under conditions most unfavorable and depressing, is nothing short of a miracle. It is the same miracle that the preservation of Israel everywhere presents; it belongs to the scheme of Divine Providence. The people has a mission, and until that mission is fulfilled, it will continue to exist, whatever the external conditions and evils it must endure.

In the old imperial days, the Jews were confined to no special quarter; they could dwell anywhere in the city, although the majority lived in Transtiberis⁹⁰ (Trans-tevere), where their synagogue was situated. This portion of the city some of them continued to inhabit until the institution of the official Ghetto in 1556. But long before this time Jews lived on the left bank of the Tiber.⁹¹ The bridge Quattro Capi was known as the *Pons Judæorum*, "bridge of the Jews." A

charter given in 1019 by Pope Benedict VIII to the bishopric of Portus, whose jurisdiction extended over the island of the Tiber and Transtevere, mentions, as belonging to this territory, *fundum integrum, qui vocatur Judæorum*, "the whole district, named after the Jews," and designates, as its boundary, *medium pontem ubi Judæi habitare videntur*, "the middle of the bridge, where the Jews appear to dwell."⁹²

Their papal masters were content to permit the Jews to live as they had been accustomed for centuries. With papal legislation in regard to the Jews we are not concerned here, except in so far as it touched their dwelling place. With this none of the popes, the spiritual and temporal masters of Rome, interfered until the time of the cruel Paul IV Caraffa, one of the most sinister pontiffs that ever occupied the see of St. Peter. He was the one to institute torture chambers and the censorship in Rome. He was hated alike by Christians and Jews. So bitter was the animosity against him, that upon his death

the Roman people execrated and cursed his memory. They applauded a Jew who placed a yellow hat upon his statue, and thereupon the people dragged the statue through the streets of Rome to the Capitol, destroyed it, and threw the head with the hat into the Tiber. This man, whom the Jews designated by the name of Israel's traditional arch-enemy, Haman, has the sorry renown⁹³ of having established the Roman Ghetto, into which, for three hundred years, thousands of human creatures were crowded, a disgrace to humanity and civilization. Scarce had he ascended the papal throne when, on July 12, 1555, he promulgated the famous bull, *Cum nimis absurdum*, in reference to the Jews. It repeats all the restrictions to which the Jews were accustomed, but the only portion that interests us here is the command that "in Rome and all other cities of the Papal States the Jews shall live entirely separated from the Christians, in a quarter or a street with one entrance and one exit; they shall have but one synagogue, shall build no

new synagogue, nor own real estate." In spite of petition and protest, the Jews of Rome were forced into their prison. Paul IV. designated as the Ghetto a small territory consisting of a few narrow, unhealthy streets along the left bank of the Tiber, and extending from the bridge Quattro Capi to the Via del Pianto, "the street of lamentation." Truly, an appropriate entrance for the new quarter, as it was a place of lamentation for the Jews, and with weeping and wailing they entered it on July 26, 1556. The Jews resisted at the start; one of them, David d'Ascoli, published a pamphlet setting forth the reasons why his co-religionists should not be treated thus; for his pains he was condemned to imprisonment for life.

At first the district was named *vicus Judæorum*, later Ghetto. It was shut in by gates. Paul IV has been called the "heartless Pharaoh, who exposed the Jews to all the ills bound to arise from the cramped space and the low situation of the dwellings along the river, and these ills were a host of Egyptian plagues." For

example, in 1656, the Ghetto became such a hotbed of infection that the gates were closed for three months, and the unhappy inhabitants were not permitted to leave the quarter during all that time. A traveler of forty years ago speaks as follows of the Ghetto: "When I visited it (the Ghetto) the first time, the Tiber had just overflowed its banks, and the yellow flood flowed through the Fiumara, the lowest street of the Ghetto, the foundations of the houses of which stand partly in the water; the river also coursed along the Octavia (another street), and covered the lower portions of the lowest houses. What a melancholy sight to see the wretched Jewish quarter thus sunk in the waves of the Tiber! Yearly must Israel in Rome experience the deluge, and the Ghetto survives the flood, like Noah's ark, with human creatures and animals. The danger increases, when the Tiber, swelled by rains, is driven back from the sea by west winds; then all who live in the lower stories of the houses must seek refuge in the upper apartments."⁹⁴

An Italian writer, in discoursing upon the emancipation of the Jews in 1848, describes this Ghetto as a "formless heap of hovels and dirty cottages, ill kept, in which a population of nearly four thousand souls vegetates, when half that number could with difficulty live there. The narrow, unclean streets, the scarcity of fresh air, and the filth, inevitable consequences of such a conglomeration of human beings, wretched for the most part, render this hideous dwelling place nauseous and deadly."⁹⁵

This squalid quarter the Jews had to occupy, and the inhumanity of Paul IV placed the capstone upon the column of indignity, erected in the course of the Christian centuries, block upon block, each designating some new disgrace heaped upon the Jews. Unrelenting was Paul IV in his inimical attitude towards the devoted people, and the day of his death was hailed with joy throughout the Jewry of the Papal States, the Jews hoping that, as each new pope was an independent sovereign, and made new rules for the

government of his state, his successor might revoke his decrees. That was the only comfort that the Jews had whenever a specially unfriendly pope occupied St. Peter's: possibly his successor would be kind to them. And in this hope they were justified this time. Pius IV (1559—1565), the successor of Caraffa, entertained kinder sentiments toward the Jews. He lightened their burden considerably, and his treatment was a great relief from the unremitting and unrelaxing cruelty of his predecessor. In 1561, at the urgent request of the Jews, he issued a brief to the Jews of the Papal States, of the following import: His predecessor had promulgated a bull regulating the life of the Jews, which some, out of desire for their riches, had made use of to harass them. He, therefore, decreed that the Jews, on their journeys, might put aside the yellow head-covering, and that they be obliged to wear it only in the places in which they staid longer than one day; that, if the quarter assigned to them in the cities was insufficient for them and their business, it could be en-

larged by the governor or vice-legate, or a larger and more fitting quarter could be assigned to them ; that they could acquire, besides their houses in these quarters, other property to the value of 1500 gold ducats ; that they could rent this property to Christians, could do business with Christians, could exercise all trades, deal in all manner of goods, and have intercourse with Christians, but not employ Christian servants ; that, in the quarters assigned to them (viz., the Ghetto, established by Paul IV), the (Christian) owners of the houses could not ask exorbitant rents, but had to rent the houses at a price determined by the executive of the city. There were many other regulations in this favorable decree, but the last mentioned was of especial importance. At the accession of Pius V (1566—1572), the next pope, the sky was again overclouded for the Jewish residents of Rome. The mildness of Pius IV had given them some respite, and encouraged them to hope for better things, but in the days of Pius V the spirit of Paul IV was revived. He revoked the concessions of

his immediate predecessor, and renewed the harsh bull of Paul IV, *Cum nimis absurdum*. The Jews, when ordered to the Ghetto, had been commanded to sell all their real estate outside. They had evaded this, and in the time of Pius IV, as noted above, they had again been permitted to acquire landed property. Pius V, however, ordered, in reference to this matter, that all property owned by the Jews not sold within a specified time, or sold only on pretense, was to become the possession of the church. In 1569, he ordered the Jews of all cities and towns of the Papal States, with the exception of Rome and Ancona, to leave within three months under pain of slavery and confiscation of their possessions. The Jews of these two cities were commanded not to harbor the exiles, and were forbidden to leave their own city to go to another place. He also laid down specific regulations for the Jews of the Roman Ghetto. Every Jew had to be in the Ghetto by nightfall. After the *Ave Maria*, the gates of the Ghetto were to be closed. Any Jew who was

caught outside after nightfall, was punished severely, unless he succeeded in bribing the watchman. Gregory XIII (1572—1585), the next pope, legislated in much the same spirit, but it is said that he permitted the Jews whom Pius V had expelled from the Papal States to return⁶.

Sixtus V (1585—1590), possibly the most humane and liberal minded of all the occupants of the papal see, followed him. He was very kindly disposed toward the Jews, and in his day matters looked brighter for them than they had dared hope. In 1586 he issued his bull, *Christiana pietas*, in which he gave the Jews permission to settle in all cities of his domain, and suitable dwellings at the customary rents were to be assigned to them. These rents were not to be raised later. In places where they had had synagogues formerly, they were permitted to re-open them. In short, in this bull, he renewed all the privileges of the Jews. In his time, attracted by the leniency of his rule, many Jews came to Rome to live.

Clement VIII (1592—1605) issued his

bull, *Cæca et perfidia Hebræorum obdurate*, on February 25, 1593. He revoked the mild decrees of Pius IV and Sixtus V, and put into force again the harsh regulations of Paul IV and Pius V. He again expelled all the Jews who had returned to the cities of the Papal States during the pontificate of Sixtus V. Within three months of the date of the publication of the bull, all the Jews except those of Rome, Ancona and Avignon, permitted to remain because of the large commercial interests in their hands, again had to leave their homes. The Jews in Bologna at that time numbered nine hundred souls. On their departure from the city, with that filial reverence characteristic of the Jews, they took the bones of their dead with them, and re-interred them in the cemetery at Piere di Cento, where there was a small Jewish congregation.

When Paul IV assigned the quarter between the Via del Pianto and the Ponte del Quattro Capi to the Jews as their Ghetto, Christian families were living in that region. They had to move out of their

homes, of which, of course, they retained the ownership; many of the other houses were also owned by Christians. These houses the Jews had to rent. They had no alternative. They *had* to live there. The landlords, knowing this, could ask almost any sum, and they were not slow in taking advantage of the situation. The Jews, having been forced into this dwelling place, had to be protected in some manner from extortionate rents and from the whim of the landlord, who might put them out at any moment. So it was found necessary in the time of Clement VIII to issue the law regulating the holding of property in the Ghetto and the relation of tenant to landlord, a law that remained in force until the abolition of the Ghetto. This law was to the effect that the Roman owners should remain in possession of the houses, but the Jewish tenants were to be given a leasehold; they could not be given notice to move so long as they paid their rent. The rent, fixed by the authorities, could not be raised. The Jew could change and enlarge the house if he de-

sired. This right was given a special name, the *jus gazzaga* (from the Hebrew *chazakah*, meaning right of possession), and everyone who held such a lease valued it highly, since it assured him and his family of a roof over their heads, and protected him from the wanton treatment of grasping landlords. This *jus gazzaga* was handed down in families from generation to generation, and they who possessed it were regarded as remarkably fortunate,—fortunate to be assured of the right of dwelling in a close, confined, miserable corner of the city! But the Jew had to be thankful not only for a dwelling place, but for the mere right to live.

In reference to this *jus gazzaga*, or possession of leaseholds of the houses in the Ghetto, Alexander VII (1655—1667) issued a decree favorable to converted Jews. The popes made continual efforts to convert the Jews by every method in their power, as will be noticed later on. At times they succeeded, and naturally these converted Jews were not regarded with the most affectionate feelings by their

former brethren in faith. Now, it happened at times that a converted Jew was in possession of a *jus gazzaga*. He, of course, could move out of the Ghetto, and live wherever he desired ; that was one of the inducements held out for conversion. Thereby his house in the Ghetto, of which he held the perpetual lease, became vacant, and he was anxious to rent it, since he had to pay rent to the Roman owner. The Jews, however, banded themselves together, and agreed not to rent such houses, in order to injure the faithless and keep others from accepting Christianity. Alexander, therefore, issued a brief in 1657, to the effect that the Jews of the Ghetto, as a community, had to make good the rent of such houses as long as they stood empty. In 1658 he issued a further decree in regard to the *jus gazzaga*. Since the Jews, without the knowledge of the owners of the houses, often sold this *jus* on burdensome conditions ; since they made contracts and gave mortgages on it, so that it became difficult for the owners to collect their rents ; since

they took undertenants into the houses, by whom the property was ruined, the owners incurring the cost of repair; since they often left houses arbitrarily, and mutually agreed that no Jew should rent certain ones, the pope issued the same law as in regard to the houses whose leaseholds were in the possession of converted Jews, viz., the community of the Ghetto had to pay the rent of such houses to the landlords. Houses in the Ghetto were valuable; even when empty they filled the coffers of their owners.

The story of the relations between the popes and the Jews does not belong here, except in so far as it especially affected the community of Rome. The spiritual jurisdiction of the popes extended over the whole Catholic world, and their repeated decrees against Jewish books, the Talmud in particular; their dealings with the Inquisition in its efforts to root out the secret Jews in Spain, Portugal and Italy; their edicts in regard to the attire of the Jews; the association of Jews with Christians; the employment of Christian ser-

vants and nurses by Jews, and many other laws of the same import affected the Roman Ghetto only as a part of the community of European Jews. But there were points in which the Jews of Rome stood in special relations to the pope.

It has been stated that the popes were, for the most part, kind masters, and that the lot of the Jews in the papal capital was better than elsewhere.⁹⁷ The Jews of Rome escaped the terrible persecutions, the bloody massacres, the frightful accusations, the heartless expulsions that mark the history of their brethren in France, England, Germany, Spain, Portugal and Austria. They were subjected to indignities, but to nothing more serious. They were often molested, and pettily persecuted; they were made the objects of scorn and mockery, not of murder and pillage. Rome was frequently a place of refuge, and often received them when they were driven out of other Italian states and other countries. The clemency of many of the popes was due to the fact that they were the tem-

poral rulers of the city, and whenever their material interests clashed with the spiritual legislation in regard to the Jews, the former being the nearer concern obtained prime consideration.⁹⁸ The Jews were useful citizens in times of need, and often aided the popes with money in their struggles with rival powers. As everywhere, the Jew's money was his weapon. Up to the pontificate of Paul IV, their condition in Rome was bearable. Such popes as Gregory the Great, Alexander III, Honorius III, Gregory IX, Nicholas IV, were really kind and benevolently disposed towards them. But from the day of Paul IV, with the exceptions already noted, the bull *Cum nimis absurdum* became the charter of the Jews of Rome, "the pivot upon which their life and history revolved."

Even before the official institution of the Ghetto by Paul IV, it was customary for the Jewish community of Rome to assist in welcoming the new pope on his entrance into the city. This entrance resembled a triumphal march, and was a magnificent spectacle. The Jews did

homage to the new pope, and usually from his reception of them they learned whether the coming years would bring weal or woe. The first mention of the participation of the Jews in welcoming the pope is in the time of Calixtus II, at whose entrance in 1120 the plaudits of the Jews mingled with those of the Romans. They usually met the pope with the scroll of the Law. When Innocent II, in 1138, entered Rome, the Jews approached him on his way to the Lateran palace, bent the knee before him, and handed their scroll to him in sign of homage. He answered, "We praise and honor the Law, for it was given your fathers by Almighty God through Moses. But we condemn your cult and your false interpretation of the Law, for you await the Redeemer in vain; the apostolic faith teaches us that our Lord Jesus Christ has already appeared." When Eugenius III entered upon the pontifical office in 1145, Jews were present at the great celebration, carrying the Mosaic Law on their shoulders. Alexander III, in 1165, was

received by a vast multitude, among them the Jews, carrying their Law in their arms according to custom. A great multitude of priests, laymen and Jews in 1187 accorded Clement III a hearty welcome amid songs and praises.⁹⁹ The method of the reception of the Jews was definitely fixed. In the description of the pope's welcome, we read in the *Ordo Romanus*: "And the Jews come with their Law, make obeisance, and offer him the Law for him to honor it, and then the pope commends the Law, and condemns the cult and interpretation of the Jews, because they say that the Redeemer will come, while the Church teaches and preaches that the Lord Jesus Christ has already come." The Jews on these occasions usually stood arrayed on the Monte Guardano, or at the Arch of Titus, which lay on the road of the pope to the Vatican. The Arch of Titus, one of the most valued remains of antiquity, was erected after the conquest of Jerusalem by Titus. On its frieze is the figure of an old man on a bier, representing the river Jordan; on the arch

itself are pictured the seven-branched golden candlestick, the golden table, the ark and the silver trumpets, all connected with the worship of the Temple. To the Jews this arch embodied the loss of their land. It seemed to them to bespeak their shame and humiliation, and no Jew of Rome ever passed through it; he always made a detour, and passed around the side.¹⁰⁰

The Jews, standing in these public places, became the objects of scorn for the Roman populace; the *gamins* jeered and mocked them, the populace subjected them to insult and contumely. As a result of their request to be saved from this treatment, Innocent VIII permitted them in 1484 to appear in the inner space of the Castello St. Angelo. In 1513 Leo X received them at the gate of this castle. They reached him the Law for his confirmation. The pope took it, and said: *Confirmamus sed non consentimus*, "We confirm, but do not assent." This was the last time that this ceremony took place.

One of the greatest indignities to which

the Jews of Rome were subjected was their compulsory participation in the races on the Corso at the carnival. The populace demanded as a great source of pleasure that Jews run in the races. Paul II, in 1468, instituted these races, and amid the gibes and jeers of the attendant crowds, a number of Jews were forced annually to participate; their companions in the races were asses, buffaloes and Barbary horses. What rare sport it was for the Roman populace to see the victims of their scorn and contempt come forth, with no covering but a cloth about their loins, and run the length of the Corso on an equal footing with animals! The weak degraded by the strong! So was it always in Rome: none too low, none too degraded to consider himself above the wretched inhabitants of the Ghetto, whose very right of residence depended on their doing the will of their superiors. How the crowds laughed and shouted with delight at the sight of the Jews racing! How the Christians pointed the finger of scorn, and noble and *gamin*, cardinal and beggar,

flung insult and contumely at the miserable ones! Time and again the Jews begged to be spared this disgrace, but for two centuries they were forced to endure it, and only in 1668 Clement IX lent a favorable ear to their entreaty, and granted them the request to be freed from the shame. In lieu of appearing on the race course they paid 300 scudi yearly to the papal treasury.

It was understood that the Jews lived in Rome only on sufferance, and yearly they had to perform the ceremony of asking permission to dwell there another year. On the first day of the carnival, the heads of the Jewish community appeared before the council of the city as a deputation from the Jews. They prostrated themselves, and presented a bouquet and twenty scudi to be used in decorating the balcony on which the Roman senate sat during the carnival. This deputation at the same time requested the senate to permit the Jews to remain in Rome. A senator placed his foot on the forehead of the Jews, bade them rise, and told them,

in the words of a traditional formula, that the Jews were not taken into Rome as citizens, but were suffered in charity.¹⁰¹ This humiliation, too, they were spared in 1847 by Pius IX, but in 1850 they still had to appear at the Capitol on the first day of the carnival to express their submission, and pay a tribute of eight hundred scudi in remembrance of the favor that they were excused from taking part in the races and furnishing amusement to the people at this time.

One of the great objects of the popes was to convert the Jews to Christianity by any means whatsoever, since they firmly believed that by this they were accomplishing an important and holy work. From their standpoint, they looked upon the Jews as lost. They attributed the refusal to accept Christianity to obstinacy and blindness. Various methods were employed by them, but the strangest of all was that introduced by Pope Gregory XIII at the instigation of a converted Jew, Joseph Tzarfati. In his bull, *Sancta mater ecclesia*, of September 1, 1584, he com-

manded that in all places where there was a sufficient number of Jews, a sermon should be preached to them on the truths of Christianity every Saturday.¹⁰² This sermon was designated *predica coattiva*. All Jews above the age of twelve, unless prevented by sickness, or some other adequate excuse to be given to the bishop, were to attend, so that always at least one-third of the Jewish population was to be present. This was carried out in Rome, especially in the eighteenth century. On Saturday afternoon, the strange sight of the police driving men, women, and children over twelve to church with whips, could be witnessed in the Roman Ghetto. Saturday afternoon was chosen, because it was thought that the words preached to them in the church, setting forth the doctrines and truths of Christianity, compared with the teachings of Judaism listened to in the morning in the synagogue, would appear so far superior and so much more worthy of acceptance that they would be converted easily. At first one hundred and fifty had to appear, but the num-

ber was later made three hundred. At the entrance of the church stood a watchman, who counted those that entered to make sure that the number was full. In the church, the police made the people pay attention; if anyone appeared inattentive, or under the soporific influence of the sermon fell asleep, he was aroused by blows of the whip. The preacher, usually a Dominican, took as his text some passage from the Bible read in the morning in the synagogue, and gave the Catholic interpretation. These services were first held in the church of San Benedetto alla Regola, afterwards in the church of San Angelo in Pescaria.¹⁰³ Needless to say, the effort proved entirely fruitless; from a weekly it dropped into an occasional service, held five times a year. It was gradually dying out when Leo XII revived it in 1824, and it was finally abolished in 1847, the first year of Pius IX.

It was not due to lack of zeal on the part of the popes and the church that the Jews did not adopt Christianity. The greatest inducements were held out to converts:

they were released from the Ghetto, and granted all civil rights and privileges. Some converts, of course, there were, and there can be no doubt that in the veins of many bearing proud, old, Roman aristocratic names the blood of these converted Jews flows. At the ceremony adopting a Jew into Christianity, always performed with great show and pomp, *ad majorem Dei et ecclesie gloriam*, some member of the highest aristocracy frequently stood sponsor, and as in ancient Rome the client took the name of his patrician patron, so here the converted Jew took that of his aristocratic sponsor.¹⁰⁴ His descendants are known by that name, and are looked upon as a branch of that noble family. As a constant reminder of their obduracy in not accepting Christianity, there was, opposite the Ghetto, on a chapel near the bridge Quattro Capi, a picture of the crucifixion with the verse Isaiah LXV, 2: "I spread out my hands all the time unto a rebellious people, that walk in the way which is not good." The unremitting efforts at conversion met with partial success. A num-

ber of Jews adopted Christianity in order to improve their lot in life, and the careers of some of these apostates and their descendants are so brilliant, striking and surprising that they may well excite wonder. I mention one, because of the strange fact that a descendant of the despised Jews rose to the highest position in the Catholic world, a sufficient excuse for introducing a short account of his career. It is stated in various accounts that the anti-pope Anacletus II, who maintained himself against Innocent II and the greater portion of the Catholic clergy, was of Jewish descent.¹⁰⁵ Anacletus was supported in his claim by the Romans, Sicilians and Milanese. He compelled his rival to flee from Rome twice, and maintained his position until the time of his death, in the year 1138. The following account of Anacletus and his family will leave no room for doubt as to his Jewish origin :

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Roman Jewish family Pierleoni acquired great riches, and having become converted

to Christianity, played a great rôle in Rome and in the church. The anti-pope Anacletus II (1130—1138), the cause of much dissension in Rome and in the church, was a scion of this family.¹⁰⁶ About the middle of the eleventh century, Benedict, the head of the family, was baptized, and married a lady of the Roman nobility. His son, Leo, and his grandson, Peter Leon, with whom the name Pierleoni begins, belonged to the grandees of Rome; they also bore the title of consul. They had built their castle at the entrance of the Ghetto, next to the bridge leading to the island of the Tiber, and this island was ruled by them; even the tower of the Crescent was intrusted to them by Pope Urban II in 1098. In the struggle between the popes and the emperors regarding the investiture, they always took the part of the popes. Urban II had died in 1099, in the castle of Leo, the leader of the papal party, the only place where he had felt secure. Leo's son, Peter, in the name of Pope Pascal II, conducted the negotiations regarding the investiture with Emperor Henry V, before

his coronation in 1110. He died in 1128, and one epitaph extols his piety, while another praises him "as a man unexcelled in riches and glory."¹⁰⁷ He had sought to procure for one of his sons the highly important office of prefect of the city, but had failed because a powerful party was opposed to him. One of his daughters became the wife of King Roger, of Sicily, and another son, also named Peter, first appeared as a monk in Cluny. Then through the efforts of his father he became cardinal, and finally, in the year 1130, he was chosen anti-pope with the appellation Anacletus II. According to contemporary writers, whose testimony, however, must be used with much care, this family never entirely lost its Jewish type, either physically or mentally.¹⁰⁸ These writers also say that with keen foresight they ranged themselves on the side of the reform popes, and acquired the highest political influence. The ancestor of the family had amassed an immense fortune by money transactions, and the rest followed in his footsteps. His numerous descendants intermarried largely

with the Roman grandees. The remainder of the nobility, however, hated them as upstarts.

The picture which these chroniclers draw of Anacletus is not very flattering. No doubt they were influenced by a partisan spirit, as they were all strongly in favor of Innocent, his rival.¹⁰⁹ One reports that Peter, the father of the pope, had the reputation of being an execrable usurer, and was, therefore, most bitterly hated. Walter, archbishop of Ravenna, calls the schism of Anacletus a "heresy of Jewish perfidy." St. Bernard complains that a descendant of the Jews occupies the chair of Peter, and that this is an affront to Christ. Another designates him as an avaricious and inordinately ambitious man. Innocent II, the rival claimant to the papal throne, himself wrote to Emperor Lothair, who sided with him, that Peter Leon, *i. e.*, Anacletus, had been striving for the papal crown for a long time, and had obtained possession of it by means of violence, bloodshed and robbery; that he imprisoned pilgrims

who came from a distance to visit the graves of the apostles, and tortured them by every means, hunger, thirst, etc. Innocent, in a letter to Hugo, Archbishop of Rouen, also calls the action of Anacletus "insane Jewish perfidy."¹¹⁰

Anacletus died on the 25th of January, 1138. His relatives buried him quietly in an unknown spot.¹¹¹ Shortly thereafter they, with all their adherents, submitted to Innocent.

Evidently this anti-pope was neither better nor worse than the great majority of the occupants of the papal chair of that time. If contemporary writers may be believed, he employed every means to compass his ends. In one point they all seem to be agreed, viz., that he was of Jewish descent, and this, as a matter of course, made him much more despicable in their eyes than all the deeds of violence. His career furnishes a very interesting episode in the history of the Jews of Rome.

A few words more on the subject of conversions. There were houses or homes

for catechumens, a monastery for males, a convent for females, where all such Jews as were in the least likely to be converted were kept, taught and supported until the time of their conversion. If he had once consented, by word or sign, to adopt Christianity, there was no possibility for the Jew to retract. There are many instances on record of men and women, who, regretting their resolve, desired to return to the Jewish community before their conversion, but were not permitted; some met death, others imprisonment, as a result of their constancy. The affirmation of a witness, that he had heard a Jew express the intention to adopt Christianity, a remark dropped in conversation, a gesture, was considered evidence sufficient, and the papal police were sent into the Ghetto to seize the candidate, to search for him if he could not be found at once, and to bring him into the house of the catechumens by force, if necessary.¹¹² The following two instances illustrate the methods employed: "On the 5th of May, 1605, Stella, the daughter of Jacob, was brought

into the convent, because one of her relatives, a catechumen, affirmed that, in his hearing, she had expressed the wish to become a Christian. After resisting for twenty-five days, she consented to abjure her faith. She was baptized under the name of Hortense."¹¹³

"On April 26, 1689, upon the declaration of two witnesses, the protector of the catechumens sent some soldiers into the Ghetto to seize a young girl nineteen years old. The Jews hid her; her mother and brother were arrested, and the young girl had to surrender herself. She did not renounce Judaism until the fifth day of the following January."¹¹⁴

It was with children that the conversionists scored their greatest success. If a Christian took a Jewish child in the absence of its parents, and had it baptized, it was considered a *bona fide* conversion. In spite of the protests of the parents, the tears of the mother, the agony of the father, their child was kept from them, and raised as a Christian, and the parents perhaps never saw it more. The Mortara

case, in this century, was typical of many that occurred in the zeal for converting Jews. Any means were considered legitimate.

Intercourse between the catechumen and his co-religionists was forbidden under penalty of the whipping-post and a fine of twenty-five crowns; this prohibition included entering the Ghetto, eating, drinking, sleeping with Jews, or even speaking to them. A catechumen apprehended in conversation with his own father or mother was severely punished either by fine, bastinado or exile.

After the catechumen had expressed his readiness to accept the faith, the sacraments were administered to him on some feast day, either Epiphany or Pentecost. Usually the pope himself was present; the presiding cardinal addressed the multitude at length upon the miracle about to take place; thereupon the convert, clothed in white satin, was led through the streets of the city in a carriage, that the citizens might be edified by the sight, and everybody might attest the

conversion. If the convert was married, his conversion annulled his Jewish marriage, and he could wed a Christian without ado. There was in Rome a society, the Brotherhood of St. Joseph, whose especial object it was to convert Jews; this brotherhood was favored greatly by the popes. Large resources were required to further its work and to support the houses of the catechumens. Whence obtain the funds? What portion of the community should be taxed to carry on the holy work of converting Jews? Who was benefited more by these saintly proceedings than Jews themselves? Therefore, let the Jewish communities be taxed for this purpose. Truly, a brilliant thought! The Jews themselves were to furnish the sinews of war for the proselytizing campaigns of Christianity among their own. Julius III, in his bull, *Pastoris æterni vices*, of August 31, 1554, was the first to impose this tax; ten florins per synagogue was the quota he named. Later, this was increased greatly, and in the period from 1565 to 1568 ten Jewish communities of Italy were compelled to contribute 5238 crowns for this purpose.¹¹⁵

The most active proselytizing zeal of the popes with regard to the Jews coincides with the period of the Protestant Reformation, as though they wished to offset the losses occasioned by the lapses from Catholicism to Protestantism by accessions from the Jews.

Vain hope! not all the promises of favor succeeded in compassing that end in more than a slight degree. Amid all the horrors of the Ghetto, the great majority of the Jews remained true to their inherited faith even though renunciation meant the enjoyment of all the rights and benefits of which, as Jews, they were deprived.

In 1712, Clement XI transferred the property and the privileges of the Brotherhood of St. Joseph, the fraternity that exercised care and protection over the catechumens, to the *Pii Operai*,¹¹⁶ who continued the work, but at present their activity as agents for the conversion of the Jews has well nigh ceased.¹¹⁷

The Jewish community of Rome, although under the jurisdiction of the popes, was still, in a measure, autonomous. Nat-

urally, Jewish life centred in the synagogue. This was situated in the Piazza di Scuola or Temple Court. The building consisted of five synagogues combined, the Catalanian, the Sicilian, the Castilian, the New Synagogue and the Temple proper.¹¹⁸ In all likelihood, they received their names from the different rituals used, and were probably founded by exiles from various countries who sought refuge in Rome. These synagogues, though virtually distinct, were all united into one building, because the Jews were not permitted to have more than one house of worship. The structure was destroyed by fire in the winter of 1893, and many valuable relics were consumed in the flames. All the *débris* of prayer books, Bibles, etc., rescued from the fire was buried in the cemetery, and a memorial stone is to be erected over the spot.

The Jewish community of Rome was looked up to by the other Italian Jewish communities as having a certain pre-eminence. The rabbi's influence was preponderating. The executive heads of the com-

munity were the three *fattori*; they regulated the taxes, and superintended the weekly distribution of alms to the poor. They were held responsible by the pope for the good order of the Ghetto. The legislative body of the Ghetto was the council of sixty; its duty was the regulation of the internal life of the Ghetto; it named the officers, chose the rabbi, and exercised the right of excommunication. As may be readily understood, its power was only advisory. Its decisions had to be sanctioned by the papal officer who had jurisdiction over the Ghetto.

The edict of Pius VI issued on April 5, 1775, remains to be mentioned. It has been termed "the blackest page in the history of mankind."¹¹⁹ It consisted of forty-four paragraphs, and repeated, in the harshest manner, all the old restrictive legislation in reference to Jews. The thirty-seventh paragraph may be given here as the last official expression bearing upon our subject :

"Jews of both sexes may not live outside of the Ghettos. They may not sojourn in

villages, on country estates, in castles, parks or anywhere else on any pretext whatsoever, not even on the plea that they require change of air, and if they require such change, and they wish to go away and remain even one day, they must be particular—according to the decree of the holy assembly of May 19, 1751, agreeing with a like decree of Alexander VII, of September 6, 1661—to secure a written permission in which must be contained the name, the surname and the descent of the Jew, the legal ground upon which the permission was granted him, the length of time of its validity, together with the conditions that the Jews must wear the sign on the hat as is directed above in Article 20, and that they may not live with Christians, nor associate with them in friendly companionship. Upon return, they shall give back the permit to the court from which they received it under pain of a fine of three hundred scudi, imprisonment and other discretionary penalties for every act of disobedience.”

The inhumanity that breathes in this

decree is characteristic of the whole edict. The saturnine spirit of Paul IV lived again in Pius VI. But temporary relief at least was coming for the victims of centuries of persecution. In 1798, Pius VI, after the occupation of Rome by the army of the French Republic, left the city never to return. The Roman Republic was proclaimed. The Jews profited by the new state of things. Although the French occupied the city a little less than two years, and later the old condition of affairs was in part re-established, yet one of the greatest indignities to which the Jews had been subjected was abolished at this time. On July 9, 1798, the distinguishing mark that the Jews had been forced to wear was officially abolished by an edict of General St. Cyr.

In 1800, the new pope, Pius VII, entered Rome. He evinced kindly feeling toward his Jewish subjects, although he did nothing effectual to improve their condition. In 1808 the French again occupied Rome. The pope was led away a prisoner. The affairs of the Jews were

taken in hand by the French. They were given equal rights with all citizens. The gates of the Ghetto were not locked at night. They were granted permission to carry on any trade. This meant a great deal, for Innocent XIII, in renewing Paul IV's infamous bull, had added thereto, in 1724, the restriction that the Jews of Rome be permitted to ply no trade but that of dealing in old clothes, rags and iron. A few years later, in 1740, Benedict XIV extended this by allowing them to deal also in new clothes. Their freedom, however, lasted but a short time. Pius VII returned to Rome in 1814 after the departure of the French. Although the new regulations that had been instituted by the French were annulled, yet the condition of affairs was an improvement upon what it had been before the French invasion. The pope permitted the Jews to open stores in the vicinity of the Ghetto outside of its walls. A small number of families were also permitted to live outside of the Ghetto.

His successor, Leo XII (1823—1829),

gave the Jews the right to acquire houses over and beyond those covered by the *jus gassaga*. He increased the number of the gates of the Ghetto to eight, which were closed every night. He legislated for the most part in the old spirit, and many of the more prominent families emigrated from Rome to other lands, where Jews enjoyed greater freedom. The next popes, Pius VIII (1829—1830), and Gregory XVI (1831—1846), did nothing for the betterment of the lot of their Jewish subjects.

But even Rome had to pay regard to the spirit of liberation and emancipation abroad everywhere in Europe, and, in 1847, the new pope, Pius IX, who had lately ascended the papal throne, determined to have the gates and walls of the Ghetto destroyed, and to permit the Jews to dwell anywhere in the city. On the eve of Passover, April 17, 1848, strange sounds were heard by the Jews, who were celebrating their feast. Often in the past had sounds and noises on that night struck terror to the hearts of the Jewish inhabitants of more than one Ghetto. But

too frequently on this occasion had enemies and excited mobs accused them of having murdered a Christian to use his blood at their feast. Faces blanched and limbs trembled, for the poor creatures knew well what misery and trouble that lie always bore in its train.¹²⁰ For once, the sounds from without on the Passover eve bore a joyful message. The purpose of demolishing the walls of the Ghetto had been kept a secret from the Jews of Rome, and when they learned the import of the blows that resounded in the night, what joy, what happiness was theirs! At last the walls of the Ghetto were removed, and they were free men like all others! But their joy was not of long duration. The policy of Pius IX was liberal in the first two years of his reign, but a reactionary movement set in after the revolutions of 1848, and the Ghetto was re-established. For twenty-two years longer, despite the removal of Ghettos everywhere, it continued to stand, a reproach to the city. In 1870, the Jews themselves took the matter in hand, and prepared a

remarkable petition, begging for the abolition of the Ghetto, and setting forth their sad plight. The opening portion of this important document (first published a few years ago),¹²¹ which graphically describes the horrors of the Ghetto and the misery of its inhabitants, may properly find a place here. The Jews of Rome addressed the ruler under whose power they lived, and in whose mercy they trusted, as follows :

“ Most Holy Father ! The elders and the delegates of the Jewish community of Rome, faithful subjects of your Holiness, prostrate themselves before your exalted throne, and offer the assurance of the continued loyalty of their co-religionists. This feeling of loyalty is the result of the many conspicuous deeds of kindness which we, O Holy Father, have experienced at your hands, and we are now animated by the pleasant sensation of hope, since your exalted will has consented to receive new petitions in its name. In fulfilment of the duty imposed on them, the petitioners presume humbly and reverently to lay be-

fore your holy wisdom and mildness the present, exceedingly wretched condition of their co-religionists. May you deign to cast a gracious glance from your exalted throne upon those, who, though Israelites, are a portion of your people.

Your Holiness gave them permission to occupy houses for dwelling and business purposes beyond the boundaries set in earlier times. They have gradually perceived that this concession has not produced the beneficial effects which, without doubt, lay in the thought of your Holiness. The streets which by that concession they could use are very narrow. Room for residence purposes has been further diminished by the palaces and religious institutions here and there, so that many families that otherwise would have removed from the old section remained there. Therefore the contiguity of the houses and the massing of the inhabitants, with all the resultant evils, continue much as they were twenty-two years ago.

These evils are most noticeable in Azinelle, Catalana and Fiumara streets.

These, inhabited for the most part by the poorest classes, chiefly rag-pickers and sellers of old soles, defy all the laws of health.

In the streets Azinelle and Catalana, light and air are very scarce. Seldom or never does a ray of the sun penetrate there; yet small, narrow ground-floors must serve for dwellings and stores. This condition of affairs brings forth even worse results in Fiumara street, which lies so low that whenever the Tiber rises floods ensue, and the dampness which remains long after the water has receded becomes a source of disease, jeopardizing health and often life. The prohibition to have stores outside of the set boundaries, considered from another point of view, is no less injurious to the Israelites. They meet with difficulties, sometimes insuperable, if they desire to devote their activity to some occupation besides trading, more particularly trading in clothes. They cast their eye upon many branches of industry, art and science; but in the condition to which they have been degraded, they can entertain no hope of entering upon any other career.

In the retail and wholesale branches of the clothing business, which formerly they controlled, foreign and home competitors have arisen in the past few decades. These competitors, with their magnificent stores situated in the most populous and the richest portions of the city, have drawn greatly from the trade of the Israelites, confined, as they are, to a single and less prominent section. As a result, many have been entirely ruined; others have continued to eke out a living with care and trouble; still others, the richest men of the community, discouraged by their losses, deprived of the right to own real estate, which would have secured their fortune, have emigrated to other lands, leaving the great majority to whom they had given help and imparted advice. These now of necessity sink to even lower depths of wretchedness.

It certainly does not escape your wise insight, Holy Father, how such a concurrence of difficulties must greatly increase the burdens of the pious Israelitish institutions, which were founded, and are al-

most entirely supported by private charity. For, owing to the above mentioned emigration of those families who formerly managed the different institutions, and endeavored, with great zeal and love, to improve them, only sparse and occasional revenues remain to meet the greatest and most pressing needs. The difficulties of providing for their own support, prevent those to whom the management of these institutions has now fallen from devoting themselves to the work, all the more necessary since destitution is continually increasing. This community has not sufficient means to alleviate the want, for its status as fixed by law and its poverty prevent any attempt towards that end from being successful.

The Jewish community has, it is true, founded an elementary school for religious and civic instruction, but impelled by hunger, the son of poor parents leaves school while of tender years in order to procure the piece of bread with which his parents cannot supply him, and to look for a rag with which to cover his naked-

ness. Pack-carrier, rag-picker, vender of matches, messenger and waiter, buyer of old soles, water carrier, bearer of burdens, he becomes, and never, never anything else ! No other nourishment for his intellectual and moral nature ! His forehead—persecutions have pressed the seal of contempt on it—cannot boast of the noble sweat of work, his hand cannot show the honorable hardness of the workman's. Abandoned to his poverty, deprived of all means to combat it energetically, he eventually comes to identify himself completely with his misery. He cannot even hope for an alleviation of his condition such as others can find in the tasks which the municipality provides. He instinctively feels that he has been robbed of the most precious possessions here below, and in his despair he loses all consciousness of his human dignity. He celebrates weddings which have no joy for him ; even the family loses its exalted character. In the dismal room, exposed to all the influences of bitter poverty, a single bed stands, upon which, regardless of every consideration of

health and chastity, parents and the troop of children of every age and sex lie down together. The governing body of the community, indeed, takes account of the moral disorder and the diseases which such a state of affairs causes ; but how can any preventive measures be effectually adopted when there are hundreds and hundreds of such families ! And although you, Holy Father, took this community, too, under the wings of your exalted kindness, and gave it a share of the state charities, yet did those unto whom the carrying out of the merciful act of the great sovereign was intrusted, devote but three hundred scudi to this purpose, notwithstanding the fact that more than two thousand poor are enrolled for weekly alms. Those of moderate means exhaust their resources in the struggle with the burdens which they are compelled to bear, viz., the taxes which they have to pay in common with the whole population, and the special tax imposed on their religious community. They are also obliged, besides paying other taxes of the congregation, to give a fixed sum yearly to two

Catholic foundations, the *casa pia* of the catechumens and the convent of the converts, two institutions for the conversion of Jews, and must pay the expenses of the governing body of the Jewish community, which consists of non-Jews. With each biennial renewal of the so-called tax for industry and capital, they complain of the continual increase of the sums they must expend in consequence of the falling off of other contributions due to business misfortunes, and they accuse the administration of arbitrariness and injustice."

The memorial then goes on to give at length a history of the Jewish community of Rome, dwelling upon the kindness of the popes towards the Jews and their favorable position up to the time of Paul IV. The later legislation, which, in spite of occasional intervals of clemency, gradually depressed and degraded the Jews, is set forth in detail. "The unfortunates, oppressed in the present, despairing of the future, excluded from civil rights, grew less and less familiar to the community at large, and at the same time more and

more powerless to fight the slanders directed against their domestic and communal life, their religious belief and their history, so that their spiritual elasticity was lamed, and their naturally great energy weakened. Thus they sank in the estimation of their fellow citizens, and what was still more deplorable, in that of the exalted popes by whom they had been so highly honored formerly."

The petition adduces evidence from non-Jewish sources of the worth of many of the Jews of Rome, speaks of the remarkable careers of Jewish physicians who attended popes, cardinals and other dignitaries, calls attention to the learned Jews of Rome, such as Nathan ben Jechiel, compiler of the *Aruch*, the first Talmudical dictionary, Immanuel, the poet, the friend of Dante, Giulio Romano, the philosopher, and others, and closes with the following strong prayer :

"Accustomed as the undersigned are to bless your name, they hope not to have spoken in vain to your fatherly heart of the sad lot still theirs ; the insalubrity of

the old Jewish dwellings ; the exceedingly contracted space granted the Jews for homes ; the direct and indirect obstacles to the free pursuit of the trades, the fine arts and the larger number of industries ; the limited right to possess real estate ; the denial on the part of some notaries of their right to act as witnesses ; the alarming increase of poverty ; the impotence of the Israelitish benevolent institutions to prevent or lessen misery ; the impropriety of the yearly appropriations paid by order of the finance commission to two Catholic institutions ; the alarm of the rich, who, in consequence of the mentioned burdens, are subjected to many pecuniary sacrifices required by their own religious foundations, and others which the indebtedness of their benevolent institutions demands of them ; the inability to take energetic measures for the better education of the greatly increasing poorer class— all this (misery), O Holy Father, must appeal to you, in such a degree, that your own heart will find it advisable not to delay the carrying out of the good deed, for

pauperes facti sumus nimis, we have become too impoverished, and the prayer which the undersigned whisper in the hearing of your Holiness is the prayer of forty-eight hundred of your subjects.

Hear us, O Holy Father, so that the children of Israel may once again benefit by that noble generosity inseparably connected with your immortal name !”

The day of deliverance, however, was at hand, arriving sooner than they had expected. While the Jews of Rome were preparing this petition for the final abolition of the Ghetto, the pope was still master of the destinies of the city. But the occasion never came to present it, for the temporal sway of the pope came to an end, when on September 20, 1870, the Italian kingdom with Victor Immanuel as king was established. The Jews changed masters. They welcomed their king enthusiastically. New hopes were aroused in the Jewish community. The Ghettos established by the popes were virtually abolished. The Ghetto of Rome stood, it is true, fifteen years longer. It was only in 1885

that it began to be demolished, having stood longer than any Ghetto in western Europe. But now this remnant of mediæval exclusion has passed away. The Jews of Rome, with new opportunities, are taking an honored position among their Italian countrymen. It is a long story of oppression, lasting just eighteen hundred years, from the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem and the deportation of the Jewish captives to Rome in 70, to the accession of Victor Immanuel in 1870. Eighteen hundred years! Rome has had many masters. Emperors, northern conquerors, popes, Rienzi, powerful families, such as the Colonnas, Orsinis, Borgias, have appeared on the scene, and lived their short day. Through it all, in that wretched quarter on the Tiber, amid disadvantages inconceivable and under burdens vast, the Jewish community lived on, unchanged amid change, steadfast in oppression, firm in faith and trust in the God of their fathers! The tocsin of freedom has sounded, and from out the dark hole of forced seclusion Judaism's

followers have issued into the broad light of liberty. Let others account for it as they may ; we see, in the long history and the continued existence of this people, the hand of Providence directing the course of those who lived and suffered for the truth.

May prosperity find the descendants of the Jews of the Ghetto as faithful as adversity found their ancestors !

CHAPTER VII.

THE RUSSIAN GHETTO.

The *Judengasse* of Frankfort has become a memory, the *Judenstadt* of Prague has ceased to be the compulsory dwelling place of the Jews, the Ghetto of Rome has been demolished—everywhere in Europe relics of hostile legislation have disappeared before the enlightened, tolerant spirit of the age. Everywhere? Nay, not so. We should have said, everywhere west of the boundaries of the empire of the Tzar. There, in barbarous Russia, the mediæval spirit still rules, and a Ghetto exists whose condition is more horrible perhaps than ever that of any Ghetto of earlier days. It stands forth in a blackness the more intense because of the sun of tolerance that shines everywhere else. It is not the Ghetto with which we have become acquainted thus far, a street or section set apart in a town or city, but a district set

apart in a country. The Jew is told, "only in certain sections of the land you may dwell." The Russian persecutions are the crime of the century, and this massing of millions of people within a comparatively small section, and closing the whole of the remaining portion of the land against them is the height of malicious ingenuity. This Russian Ghetto is known as the Pale of Settlement. In the whole of Russia, not counting Poland (for "in stealing Poland, Russia had to take its Jews, too"), Jews are permitted to reside only in the following fifteen *gubernia*: Wilna, Kowno, Vitebsk, Grodno, Minsk, Moghilev, Volhynia, Podolia, in West Russia; Kiev (exclusive of the city of Kiev), Tchernigov and Poltava, in the Ukraine or Little Russia; Ekaterinoslav, Taurida (except Sebastopol), Kherson (except Nikolaiev), and Bessarabia, in South Russia. From Great Russia, from the provinces of Kazan and Astrakhan, from Finland and the Baltic Provinces they are entirely excluded.¹²² Even in the Pale of Settlement they are permitted to dwell in the cities only, and

thus there has been created a Pale within the Pale. What makes the crowding within these pens the harder to bear is the fact that for a time a little light had appeared, and the Jews had been permitted under certain conditions to dwell outside the Pale of Settlement. Alexander II had lightened the burden of the Jews somewhat, and in 1865 had granted permission to dwell where they pleased to Jews in possession of university diplomas, to merchants of the first guild, and to artisans. Besides, Jews were tolerated in the principal ports, such as Riga, Libau, Rostov. The number who had taken advantage of this permission reached hundreds of thousands. After the assassination of the humane Tzar, the evil days began. A spirit of fanaticism, fed by cries of panslavism and supremacy of the Russian orthodox religion, became rampant, and the first victims to feel the terrible effects were the Jews. In May, 1882, by the inspiration of the tyrant Ignatieff, the so-called May laws, fraught with so much misery, were promulgated. These laws

ordered (1) that as a temporary measure, until a general revision of the laws concerning the Jews can be made in a proper manner, the Jews be forbidden to settle outside the towns, the only exceptions being in Jewish colonies that existed before, and whose inhabitants are agriculturists; and (2) that the completion of instruments of purchase of real property and mortgages in the name of Jews, the registration of Jews as lessees of landed estates situated outside the precincts of towns, and the issue of powers of attorney to enable Jews to manage and dispose of such property, be suspended temporarily.¹²³ These laws were made to refer to the Pale of Settlement. The Russo-Jewish Committee of London commenting on these laws says, "The effect of the first clause of this enactment would clearly be to create a Pale within the Pale. Hitherto, ordinary Jews, if prevented from going beyond the Pale, could move from town to village, and from village to village, within the Pale. This was to be stopped. In process of time, all the Jews of the Pale

would be cooped up in the towns and townlets found within it. There they might be left 'to stew in their own juice.'

The second clause was not less wide-reaching in its scope, for it tended to the same end, by restricting still further the possibility of Jewish life in the country. If a Jew might not acquire land by purchase, mortgage or lease, or have anything to do with landed estate, his country life must come to an end, and even the favored exceptions, permitted to reside in the villages as old inhabitants, would have no work to occupy them."¹²⁴ Upon the enforcement of these laws, the populations of the overcrowded cities and towns were augmented by the thousands compelled to leave their homes in the country and the villages; it amounted to virtual expulsion, for, unable to find a resting place, the unfortunates had to leave Russia. The expulsions of 1882 are still fresh in the minds of all. The unprecedented cruelty and inhumanity of these May laws called forth so indignant a protest in Western Europe and in America

as to bring about the deposal of Ignatieff from favor, and with it the partial suspension of his laws. But the persecuting spirit has been at work, and since 1888, when it broke forth more strongly than ever, the May laws have been rigorously enforced. A new power had arisen in the land. Pobiedonostseff, the primate of the Russian church, a man possessed of that "true malignity of genius that makes a grand inquisitor," had obtained complete mastery over the Tzar's mind. The miseries of the Russian Jews have increased hundredfold. The crowding into the cities of the Pale goes on apace. Towns such as Tchernigov, of five thousand Jews, have had the number increased to twenty thousand.

So Berditchev in the province of Kiev, in 1890, was supposed to contain about 60,000 inhabitants, two-thirds Jews. An acute observer says of the effects of the edicts upon this town: "It was then an overcrowded place, made up for the most part of old and insanitary rookeries, in which was huddled one of the poorest

populations to be found anywhere in Europe. By August, 1891, it was said that fully twenty thousand additional Hebrews had been driven in from the surrounding country. The spectacle of their poverty and squalor was something too sickening for words. The whole place, with its filthy streets, its reeking half-cellars under the overhanging balconies, and its swarming throngs of unwashed, unkempt wretches, packed into the narrow thoroughfares on the lookout for food, made a picture scarcely human. Mr. Pennell tells me that when he was there in November he was assured that, instead of the sixty thousand Jews of August, there were then in Berditchev no less than ninety thousand * * * There are over a hundred towns in that hell called the Pale where the same causes operate which have made Berditchev such an unspeakable charnel-house, and in each one the Russian police have done their brutal best to reproduce the conditions of Berditchev."¹²⁵

What are the poor creatures to do? Harried and harassed, they are veritable

pariahs and outcasts. The Jews in the cities and towns of the Pale are poor enough, and to have the number trebled and quadrupled means lack of sustenance for all. Even the privileged classes, those permitted to dwell without the Pale, are rapidly decreasing. How soon, by confiscation and systematic robbery on the part of the officials, may not a merchant of the first guild sink into the second? Then off into the Pale, no matter now long he may have dwelt in his home! Artisans, too, had been granted permission to dwell anywhere. But what constitutes an artisan? The authorities decide. For instance, in one province it was decided that Jewish bakers, butchers, etc., are not artisans, and they have been driven out. The word is very elastic, particularly since the law limits it by the adjective "skilled,"¹²⁶ and so the authorities (for in Russia every official, no matter how low or how high his rank, considers himself an authority) interpret the term as they please, and the Jews are completely at the mercy of every official, from the ordinary policeman up to the

governor of the province. Jews with university diplomas are among the privileged classes, permitted to reside anywhere, but the government has taken care to limit those entitled to enjoy choice of residence, by passing laws providing that only a very small percentage of students may be Jews.¹²⁷ Restrictions everywhere! Prohibitions on all sides! Gradually and surely the Jews are forced into the cities of the Pale. The Russian Ghetto! oh, the misery, the horror of it all! Stories innumerable of cruelty almost incredible have come to us—of soldiers who had served in the army for years coming back to their native place, being treated as strangers, and driven out;¹²⁸ of artisans, residents of villages all their lives, going for a week or a month to some other place for work, and on their return being treated as newcomers, their former residence ignored; of Jewish girls, who, to remain with their parents, had themselves enrolled as prostitutes (this class of women being permitted to dwell anywhere in Russia), and because they would not ply the

nefarious trade, were driven out. And then the terrible results in the cities of the Pale! The crowding of thousands of homeless, suffering, destitute Jews into the already swarming, dirty, ill-built, half-starving towns, deepened the prevailing misery. Sickness and disease ran riot. Phthisis, which had been practically unknown among Jews, led to the rejection of 6.5 per cent of Jewish recruits as against 0.5 per cent of other Russians. Other maladies hitherto unknown arose among them.¹²⁹ Another source of misery was the re-enforcement of an old law permitted to fall into neglect. This law, first suggested in 1816,¹³⁰ had ordered that no Jew should dwell within fifty versts (thirty-three miles) of the frontier. It became a dead letter. Hundreds of thousands of Jews settled within this district. The old law has been revived, and is being enforced. So the people who have dwelt for years within the forbidden limits are likewise forced back into the Pale.

Things have been growing worse all the time; in 1891 they reached their climax;

new edicts of expulsion of even the privileged classes, permitted to dwell in the cities, were promulgated—edicts upon edicts. For example, in Moscow, on July 28th, appeared regulations in regard to the artisans, who were divided into three classes: (1) those living in Moscow only three years, unmarried or childless, and employing only one workman; (2) those of six years residence, with four children and four workmen; (3) those having “a very long residence” and a “large family,” and more than four workmen. For these expulsion was decreed, for the first class, within from three to six months; for the second, within from six to nine months; for the third, within from nine to twelve months. To this was attached a rider to the effect that (*a*) all clerks, personal attendants and those of small occupations must go within six months; (*b*) all engaged in trade, especially in large factories owned by Russians, must go within one year.¹³¹ This in Moscow; St. Petersburg, “holy” Kiev, even Odessa, although within the Pale, have like stories to tell. The Jews must go.

By law or by arbitrary decree, Russia outside the Pale must be cleansed of them, and it is being gradually done. Imagination cannot picture the unfeeling cruelty of it all. Hundreds of thousands of innocent, unoffending citizens deprived of their homes and possessions, and forced into new, strange dwelling places, unable to support their own teeming populations! It means nothing short of expulsion or death. The number of Jews dwelling within the Russian Ghetto, or Pale, in 1884, was estimated at 2,920,639. A rough calculation has been made of the Jews who by the new edicts and restrictions have been and will be expelled from their homes and forced into the cities of the Pale :¹³²

Expulsion from villages inside the Pale is estimated to affect	500,000
Expulsion of artisans outside the Pale,	200,000
Expulsion from commercial towns out- side the Pale,	500,000
Expulsion from the fifty-verst zone. . .	250,000
	1,450,000

Add these to the swarming populations residing in the cities of the Pale, and it will be readily understood that never has

there been, even in the darkest days, a Ghetto with accompanying circumstances more dreadful than this, existing in sight of the enlightened world of the year eighteen hundred and ninety-four of Christian civilization. The Middle Ages, with all their fanaticism and intolerance, have nothing to show surpassing it in systematic cruelty. Mediæval church laws at least pretend to give a reason for separating the dwelling places of Jews from those of Christians; it was feared that the latter would be contaminated by contact with the former. In the autocracy of Eastern Europe there is not even the pretense of a reason or excuse. The laws are made; it is the tyrant's will—that is the end of the matter. Possibly the same idea holds, that holy Russia may be contaminated by the presence of Jews. Considering the Jews a pest, the Russian rulers enclose them in the Ghetto as in a lazaretto.

“These laws regulating the dwelling place of the Jews present the most shocking anomalies. They put the Jews below the criminals to whom certain cities, nota-

bly the capitals, are forbidden only for a specified period after the expiration of their sentence. * * * * According to the letter of the law, the greatest sculptor of Russia, Antokolsky, correspondent of our Institute, has not the right to live in St. Petersburg.

Do the Jews enjoy the same rights as the other subjects of the Tzar, at least in the mentioned district (the Pale), in which they are confined? By no means. They are deprived of several all-important rights. They are forbidden to acquire land in the provinces in which they are forced to live. They are forbidden even to lease land outside of the cities. They cannot be farmers."¹³³

It is the same old story over again: Jews forced into the cities, forbidden to own land, and then reproached for not being farmers. For eighteen hundred years the present Russian policy was the policy of all European states; the Jews could not be farmers had they wanted to. The Jews of Russia are to-day in the same situation as the Jews of Europe gen-

erally before the close of the last century. They know not where to lay their head. Certainly, the prospect of emigration is theirs, but the emigration is forced; they are literally driven out, for to go into the Ghetto set apart for them is well-nigh synonymous with stepping into a death trap; disease, hunger, starvation await them there. Rich men beggared in a month, honorable men chased from their homes like criminals, ambitious students driven from the universities to go they know not whither, unless to the Ghetto or to strange lands—these are the sad experiences that hundreds and thousands of Russian Jews have lived through in the past ten years. And within that Pale of Settlement, what a terrifying future presents itself! Five, eight, ten persons struggling for a livelihood where one can scarcely find sufficient sustenance. Degeneracy, physical, mental, moral. Millions subjected to the very worst conditions of life. Bad enough before the enforcement of the May laws, infinitely worse now; the overcrowded towns are breeders of disease

and contagion. The evils and horrors of the Ghetto have re-appeared in their worst form. The future is all dark, not one streak of light to relieve the gloom—no hope of improvement! The miserable, embittered existence of these poor creatures has no prospect of betterment. Death alone will make them free. It is like an oppressive nightmare. But retribution will come. Into Darkest Russia, too, the light must penetrate. "He sleeps not, neither does He slumber, the guardian of Israel." The Russian Ghetto will be swept from the face of the earth, as in their time all Ghettos have disappeared. The wide expanse of the Russian empire, too, will be opened to the Jew, and the frightful conditions of to-day will pass away. Right is might, and with such a champion, the poor, harried, persecuted Russian Jew will conquer, though all the powers of darkness be arrayed in the lists against him to-day. The abolition of the Ghetto, the Pale of Settlement, the full right of the Jew to live and settle in Russia where it pleases him, is

the only solution of the Russo-Jewish
problem. ¹³⁴

CHAPTER VIII.

EFFECTS AND RESULTS.

The enforced seclusion of a people during centuries, as told in the foregoing chapters, cannot but produce characteristic results. That Jews in many places and instances, still show the effects of the Ghetto period, cannot be doubted. It is not yet half a century since they have gained full political and social emancipation in Western Europe. The habits formed during centuries cannot be expected to wear off in a few decades. The unpleasant traits of the Jews are due to the persecutions; their virtues are the resultant of the strong hold of their religion upon them.

Who will wonder at the evil effects which exclusion had on the development of the Jew, physically and mentally? Pen up a mass of people for centuries in narrow, unhealthy streets and noisome quar-

ters, and what results may be expected? Owing to the unhealthiness of the Jew's environment, he could not develop physically, and thus became stunted in body. Owing to his enforced occupations, small peddling and money transactions, he gradually in his relations to the outer world, became a fearful, terrified, stricken creature, and these things naturally reacted on the mind. Shut off from all contact with the world at large, the Jew within the walls of the Ghetto naturally did not respond to the culture of the world. Learning, certainly, there always was, and learning was held in the highest respect; but it was the learning of the ancients, the Talmud and rabbinical dialectics. These studies sharpened the mind, it is true, and later, when emancipation came, the Jewish intellect, exercised for centuries in this dialectical training school, readily mastered the difficulties of the various branches of learning in the universities. But in the Ghetto, notably in Germany and the countries of Eastern Europe, this terrible, systematic exclusion of the

Jews from all contact with the outer world contracted the mind, and prevented all cultivation of learning outside of Jewish studies.

The wonder is that in spite of the mountain-load of disadvantages, disabilities, and wrongs, the Jew preserved himself as well as he did. For evil as were the effects, physical and mental, little as the Jews produced of works of general literature, philosophy, and science between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries, yet the moral side of Jewish life, as reflected in the beauty of the home, in the charity, purity, and chastity of the community and of the individual, even the systematic caging in the Ghetto by church and state did not affect for the worse. This moral purity was not sullied, and in spite of all the disadvantages of situation, the virtues that crown the life of man with man here found constant cultivation and application. The Ghetto possibly brought these things out in stronger relief. Family ties were strengthened, domestic purity shone the brighter, because only in the home and in the family the Jew was a free man. The

hand of power that rested with such crushing weight upon him without could not penetrate within. Here he was king. The glory of his ancestors, the pride of race, possessed him. God was with him, of that he was sure; his troubles would come to an end at some time. This light not all the waves of oppression could extinguish. In the Ghetto, too, it shone. Herein lay the salvation of the Jew. His inner life appeared all the more brilliant when contrasted with the darkness of his external position. The Jew saved himself by force of those virtues which will redeem man from any condition, even though it be as untoward and foreboding as the prison-like confinement of the Jews for centuries within the walls and gates of the Ghetto.

The Ghetto gave rise to social habits and customs peculiar to its inhabitants. Shut off, as they were, from communication with the remainder of the community, thrown entirely upon their own resources, and associating only with each other, they developed among themselves that peculiar

Ghetto life, which, in our day, has received such masterly portrayal at the hands of Kompert, Bernstein, Franzos, Kohn, and others, to whom I shall have occasion to refer again. Perhaps the most striking product of the Ghetto was the language there spoken. In early days, the language which Jews spoke differed in nowise from that of their neighbors, but in time there was formed the peculiar speech of the Ghetto, the *Jüdisch-deutsch*, a jargon. This language was a mixture of Hebrew and German terms in various peculiar combinations, with a liberal sprinkling of words of other European languages, as *c. g.*, *blett*, a ticket entitling the holder to a meal, the French *billet*; *benshen*, to bless, the Latin *benedire*; *frimselich*, a kind of pastry, the Italian *vermicelli*; all showing traces of the days when the Jews spoke these languages. A treatise on this strange linguistic development remains to be written,¹³⁵ although some good work has been done by several scholars, the beginning having been made by *Altmeister* Zunz, who in his epoch-making

work, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, devotes several pages¹³⁶ to a discussion of the "jargon," and gives the rules that seem to have been employed in the formation of terms, as well as a list of words and phrases. The "jargon" is a product of the past; with the fall of the walls of the Ghetto, it disappeared, like so many of the alleged peculiarities to which the oppression of centuries gave rise among Jews.

But certain effects of Ghetto existence upon the Jew are apparent even to-day. A recent writer has well said: "People who have been living in a Ghetto for a couple of centuries are not able to step outside merely because the gates are thrown down, nor to efface the brands on their souls by putting off the yellow badges. The isolation from without will have come to seem the law of their being."¹³⁷ Even in this free country of ours, where a Ghetto has never been established by religious canon or civil law, the effects of Ghetto life in Europe crop out very perceptibly. In our larger cities, Jewish quarters are being formed,

which, though not defined by law, nor enclosed by walls, nor barred by gates, to all intents and purposes are no less Ghettos than those of mediæval days. The poorer Jews who come to this country naturally flock together, and inhabit whole districts which come to assume the appearance of Ghettos. So it is also in London, Amsterdam, Paris, Vienna, and other large cities of Europe. The Ghetto in law has ceased to be; the Ghetto in fact still exists. Now, this *esprit de corps*, this exclusiveness, this seeking of brethren, is a direct result of the treatment to which Jews have been subjected during the Christian centuries. And not alone the masses of poor, wretched creatures that live in the lowly quarters of the great cities of the world, but even those Jews who have reaped all the benefits of emancipation, and move in the higher circles of life and thought, are often met with the reproach that they are clanish and exclusive, that they shut themselves up within their own social precincts, and are attracted to one another by a magnetism of fellowship. Very true, and

very natural ; so long were the Jews excluded by legal measure and enactment and religious prejudice and teaching from all intimate contact with non-Jews, so long were they thrown upon one another, that as a logical result, they became exclusive. People maltreated and oppressed for the same reason cling to one another. Suffering in a like cause attaches them very close to each other, for there is no bond that unites so firmly as suffering. The Jew was excluded, therefore he became exclusive ; he was avoided, therefore he became clannish ; the hand of the world was against him, therefore he sought protection amongst his own. Even though official exclusion be a thing of the past, the prejudices of men and churches cannot be abolished by law and decree, and largely these still exist against the Jew. He has met his fellow-man more than half way. The most liberal expressions emanate from the Jewish pulpit and the pens of Jewish authors,¹³⁸ but rarely are they reciprocated. The great consensus of opinion in the Christian world still considers the

Jew as lost, and, as though he were heathen, fit subject for missionary effort. As long as this is the state of the case, expressed or implied, the Jews are forced in upon themselves. As long as this arrogant assumption of superiority marks the attitude of Christianity, so long can there be no meeting on common ground. Equality pre-supposes mutual respect, and the attitude of the churches that consider the Jew damned for all eternity, unless he be baptized in the name of the Christian Saviour, although not expressed in words, is the same as that of the mediæval church, which ever spoke and wrote of Judaism as superstition and perfidy. Advances cannot all come from one side. If the ill effects of bygone centuries are ever to be entirely overcome, the Christian world must concede full and equal liberty to Jews to think and believe as they will, leaving the final judgment unto Him who looks into the hearts of men.

Another time-honored accusation continually flung at Jews is, that they are merely consumers, and not producers; that

they are to be found in commercial pursuits only, and not in the handicrafts; that they flock to the cities and monopolize trade, and are rarely, if ever, found tilling the soil. Superficial observation seems to confirm these statements, but it must be emphatically stated that the Jews themselves are not to blame; that this is one of the effects of Ghetto life, Ghetto legislation, and Christian treatment of Jews. More than a century ago, Moses Mendelssohn, in response to the same reproach, pithily said: "Our hands are bound, and we are blamed for not using them." If the Jews were not conspicuous in trades and industrial branches at the time when these were honorable pursuits, it was not their fault, but that of the governments under which they lived. The limits of the guilds were so narrow and circumscribed, they were governed by such exclusive laws, that no Jew, before the time of general emancipation, could break through the barriers. When the note of freedom and emancipation sounded, and the governments began to

grant the Jews rights as citizens, and passed decrees favorable to their entering the trades, then the Jews themselves put forth efforts in this direction.

In biblical times the Jews were an agricultural, not a commercial people. The many notices, too, in the Talmud and other Jewish writings on the honorable character of trades, and the necessity of engaging in them, at once dispel the notion that the Jews were opposed to these pursuits. We need only refer to learned men specially mentioned as having gained their livelihood by the trades of the collier, shoemaker, carpenter, smith. But when the Jews were scattered over Europe's wide domain, all changed from what it had been in Palestine and Babylonia. They lived now under Christian governments, which, in conjunction with the priesthood, did all in their power, if not to exterminate, for that was impossible, at least, to hamper and degrade the Jews. They were compelled to resort to those means by which they could gain some hold of power. This their money gave them. Hence their pre-

eminence in commerce and in money transactions. They cultivated these activities. Gold and silver satisfied the rapacity of their oppressors, and gained them respite from suffering. All the energies of the acute Jewish mind being turned to commerce, they brought it to a high state of perfection, invented bills of exchange, became the bankers and the merchants of mediæval Europe. There was ample reason, then, for their not engaging in the trades. Self-preservation forced them into commercial life. It must also be remembered that there was a period when the trades and handicrafts were in the hands of the lowest classes, being pursued by either slaves, or women, or by the free classes ineligible to a military career. It is, therefore, not surprising that Jews, severely oppressed because of their religion, did not wish to debase themselves further by engaging in occupations in themselves considered degrading.

When the trades rose in general estimation, we find Jews mentioned here and

there as farmers, as growers of the vine, as mechanics. But gradually these trades and industries enclosed themselves within narrow confines, and against attempts of governments to open the trades to Jews, it was urged that if they were admitted, their competition would soon work to the detriment of Christian workmen. Always the same clamor: the Jews place others at a disadvantage, therefore, they must be kept down and out, and, if this be possible by no other means, force must be employed. Perhaps this has never been better stated than by Gabriel Riesser, the redoubtable champion of Jewish emancipation: "Commerce requires many and distant—trades, few and close, connections. As long as the hatred of the Christian prevented a close relation to Jews, they could be associated in commerce, but not in the trades. This circumstance sufficiently explains, without Sabbath or Talmud, why Jews, until the last century, could engage so little in handicrafts."

It was the oft repeated cry : contact with the accursed Jews may lead to terrible consequences. Out with them ! out with them ! cried the workman. The greater the number of competitors, the more difficult for each to gain his livelihood. Lower, lower press them down, away from all association with their fellows of other faiths ! Every honorable occupation was closed to them. The power of the trade guilds was great, they resented all attempts of governments to interfere in their affairs. Whithersoever the Jew turned, he was conscious of lofty though invisible walls. Each century but added to the burden of the preceding century. The load was becoming heavier and heavier. Oft in anguish of soul the Jews cried aloud, for it seemed impossible to bear with such indignities any longer. Money transactions, or worse, peddling and hawking, were the only avenues open for earning a livelihood. The *Schacherjude* was a creature evolved by circumstances and the systematic course resorted to by his enemies to degrade the Jew. The

only countries wherein Jews could and did engage in the trades were those in which they dwelt in sufficiently large numbers (as the different provinces of Poland), so that there was no need of others to assist them and associate with them.

But the time of reckoning was coming. The recording angel had almost done with the tale of governmental exclusion and persecution of Jews. The measure was full. The time was ripe. Mankind was awakening from the stupor of ages. Humanity was to assert its rights. The eighteenth century stands as the dividing line between the old and the new. Aye, the eighteenth century! Blessed time, when humanity spoke, and advocated the claims of all the children of men; when the false and rank growths of mediævalism fell before the purifying influence of awakened reason, even like a crumbling ruin swept by the storm. The American Revolution "fired the shot heard round the world," and the old, corrupt society of Europe was shaken

to its depths by the reverberation. France, all combustible, needed but the spark ; it fell, and the French Revolution, an explosion of the magazines wherein had accumulated the rubbish of centuries, moved Europe from end to end. The new time was inaugurated. Mankind was freed. Humanity ruled. Governments listened. The abuses of ages were laid bare. Unto the Jew, also, the most wronged of Europe's inhabitants, the new era brought its glad tidings. Kings and rulers turned their attention to the improvement of the lot of their Jewish subjects. The avenues which had been closed to them were gradually opened. Within sixty years after the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Jew was a free man in Western Europe. France, leader in humane acts and liberal thoughts, was followed by German princes, by Italy, by England. The walls of the Ghetto had fallen ; the world was open to the Jew, and among the earliest privileges was the right to engage in trades and industries. It is remarkable with what

eagerness this permission was seized. Undoubtedly their leaders felt that it was necessary to remove the byword of peddler, money-lender, from the Jews, and to make them more readily affiliate with their Christian neighbors. Societies were started in the early decades of this century for the purpose of furthering trades among the Jews in Prussia, Frankfort, Bavaria, Baden, Saxony, Pomerania, Hessen, Hamburg, the Saxon duchies. Jewish boys were apprenticed. Industrial schools were instituted. Ere long there were Jewish master mechanics all through Germany. They followed trades of every kind and description. They became shoemakers, tailors, saddlers, bookbinders, locksmiths, bakers, weavers, printers, cutlers, watch-makers, furriers, lithographers, and the like. Land, too, was beginning to be bought, and here and there Jewish farmers were heard of. Factories were started by Jews, who employed workmen of all classes, both of their own faith and others. They assisted the governments wherever the slightest hope was given that their dis-

abilities would be removed. The Jews themselves entered upon the work with a will, and it is most encouraging to reflect upon their early efforts to improve the new opportunities granted by the governments. The inner development was such that within seventy years after Mendelssohn's death, his co-religionists enjoyed all the rights of men and citizens in the land where he, one of the most distinguished of philosophers and scholars, was regarded as an alien.

In 1848 most of the disabilities resting upon Jews were removed in the countries of western Europe. How has it been since, there and in America? We still hear of the enormous wealth of the Jews. We are told that if one walks down Broadway in New York, the great majority of the firms are Jewish. The Jewish commercial spirit still forms the refrain of many a prejudice. Whenever anti-Semitism has raised its head in late years, this has been one of its cries. The Jew lives off of the poor Christian workman. The Christian must toil; the Jew enjoys. The Chris-

tian is poor; the Jew is rich. The Jew works not with his hands at honest toil; he cannot be found in the factories, he cannot be found in the fields, farming and gardening; only in the street, buying and selling. Such invidious distinctions are still drawn, although careful observation must prove that there is no truth in them. The ideas of mediævalism have not been banished from the popular mind. The Jew is still looked upon as standing apart. The conception has not yet gained ground that the only distinction is one of religion. This truth the Jews must emphasize in word and in work. And in no better way can it be emphasized and fully proved than by his standing at the same forge, or sitting on the same bench with others. Trades and industries will bring close connections.

It is now felt that one solution of the problem thrust upon the Jews of Western Europe and America by the immigration of hordes of Russian exiles is to form them into agricultural communities. This will require time, money and patience.

The Russian Jews are issuing from a condition like unto that in which the Jews generally found themselves throughout Europe in the Ghetto period. They, too, must become accustomed to their new life. What they are is owing not to themselves, but to their government. The taste for new occupations must be fostered ; many a drawback and obstacle will be encountered, but perseverance and time will gain the victory. The Jews must be their own redeemers, and they alone can and will overcome the effect of the exclusiveness of the Ghetto period, which, by closing every other occupation to them, forced them into the lines of money-changing, peddling, and hawking. The injustice of popular condemnation has never stood forth so clearly as in this instance of reproaching the Jews for that wherein they fail, their failure being due not to their own shortcomings, but to the treatment, or rather maltreatment, which they have received.

The remarkable progress made by individual Jews in the universities of Europe

and in the learned professions, as soon as these were thrown open to them, has often been the subject of remark and surprise, and speeches and writings of anti-Semites are full of warnings to the effect that Jews, enjoying even now more than their due proportion of professorial chairs, and journalistic and professional honors, will eventually monopolize them. It is true that many Jews have had remarkable careers in the learned world. The moment the opportunity was granted them, they grasped it with avidity, and ere long they became brilliant students. This, too, strange as it may appear, was a result of the Ghetto existence. For centuries the Jewish mind had been confined to the study of the Jewish writings, and been sharpened in the fencing school of rabbinical dialectics. The schools outside of the Ghetto were closed to them. The classics and the sciences were unknown worlds. As soon as the open sesame of emancipation sounded, and the doors of the schools swung back to admit the Jew, he entered a new domain. His mind was as a field

long fallow ; it had been gathering strength for centuries. The learned words of professors and of books fell upon this new soil, and took deep root. This, together with the keenness and acumen resulting from the discussions in the Talmudical schools, readily explains why he forged ahead so rapidly.

His striking success may be traced to another cause. If history has an example of the "survival of the fittest" to present, it is this of the Jews. To have survived in spite of all the dangers and persecutions which they encountered, is evidence sufficient that there were present among these people the moral and mental qualities that can successfully withstand physical ill and harm. The fittest of the survivors, hence the choicest from out a choice band, selected university and professional careers. They were the products of the endurance of centuries. All these things combined offer full explanation of a seeming anomaly.

Hard as this life in the Ghetto was, unbearable as it became at times, sad as

was this continued exclusion, yet these very evils were productive of virtues among the devoted people. To survive despite all these disadvantages, the Jews had to be better than their surroundings, had to live on a higher moral plane. The Ten Commandments were ever respected and observed by them. The crime of murder was practically unknown even among their poorest and most ignorant classes, rampant as it may have been among others in the same circumstances. Chastity among their women was universal; the home life was a model; never was heard issuing from a Jewish home the wail of the wife beaten by a drunken husband. A cheerful, trustful piety that illuminated the most squalid existence, and made its inhabitants content with their lot, was characteristic of the Ghetto. It was not for them to murmur against the decrees of God. He knew best, their release would come, if not in this world, then in the next. And these same qualities mark the inhabitants of the lowly, poverty-stricken quarters in our great cities,

so like the old Ghetto in all particulars save that residence in them is voluntary, not compulsory.

Upon modern Ghettos, the Jewish quarters in the large cities of the world, I have hardly touched, since they do not lie within the scope of these investigations, but I must briefly refer to them since they are another direct result of the officially instituted Ghetto of the Middle Ages. The poverty-stricken huddle together in these districts, because here they find companionship and sympathy, and their social instinct is satisfied. But at least, they are not forced to stay there, and as soon as they desire they can remove thence. If such a thing as a Jewish question in any but the religious signification of the term can be spoken of in this country, it is in reference to these Jewish quarters in New York and other large cities, and their inhabitants. How to break these up and disperse their denizens over the surface of this broad, fair land, and make them self-supporting, self-respecting citizens, is the great problem now pressing for solution.

There are not more than several hundred thousand all told, crowded together in three or four localities. This seems to be a large number, but scattered among the population of this vast land it is but as a drop in the ocean. These voluntary Ghettos are a constant menace, for they arouse the worst passions of non-Jewish demagogues, and the Jews are referred to as a class, and discriminated against as a separate body. The Jewish immigrant coming from the Russian Ghetto naturally drifts into this new Ghetto, and continues in the old life, for he finds much the same conditions. These last visible vestiges of Ghetto existence must be wiped out. They are fraught with menace. Charitable and philanthropic effort must be directed to this work. Millions are spent yearly to relieve the poor of these districts, but there will be no permanent relief until these Ghettos shall be no more, until these wretched immigrants will be taken in hand upon their arrival, prevented from invading the already overcrowded districts, and sent to smaller communities, there to as-

simulate themselves with their American surroundings; those already dwelling in these sections and applying for relief must be taken charge of by our charitable agencies, and removed into more wholesome quarters. This is a duty that devolves upon all who seek to improve the economic and social condition of the masses. Systematic, intelligent, united effort alone will be able to grapple with this hydra-headed evil. There is no duty more imperative than the relief of the congestion of the slums, both in the interest of their inhabitants and of our American institutions. The work can be begun none too soon. The axe of improvement can be applied to the cutting down of the tenements none too vigorously. Every day of delay but aggravates the evil. Away with these Ghettos, too. The law cannot order their removal as it did with the officially instituted Ghetto. Voluntary effort alone will accomplish it. In the words of the old prayer, "may we see it done quickly in our days."

CHAPTER IX.

THE GHETTO IN LITERATURE.

Although the actual, enforced Ghetto, with the one exception of "the Pale of Settlement" in Russia, has disappeared from the face of Europe, yet the Ghetto life of Jews has found a permanent place in literature, inasmuch as during this century numerous writers have arisen who have drawn their material for most interesting tales and character sketches from the Ghetto. The life there was unique. Certain types of character were formed, and the development of personality proceeded along peculiar lines, so that this Jewish life became the legitimate object of treatment by poets and novelists. And Jewish life and Jewish characteristics, as developed in the Ghetto, are the only rightful objects of treatment in fiction portraying the Jew. All other representations of the Jew as differing from other

men in aught but his religion are misrepresentations, and false to the real thought and present status of the Jew, who, in everything but his religion, is like unto those among whom he dwells.¹³⁹

The Ghetto novel is unique. It transports us into a life so different from our own that it scarce seems possible that a comparatively short period has intervened between our day and the time wherein the scenes which it portrays were enacted. It depicts real life within the Ghetto, and shows that existence there in peaceful times was much the same as anywhere else. There are tales of love and marriage; of success and failure; of heroism and self-sacrifice. There are descriptions of phases of life and character peculiar to the Ghetto, written, for the most part, by men whose youthful years were passed there, and who knew from experience the scenes which they depicted. These stories are the swan song of the Ghetto. They cast the glamour of poetry over it, and are the one fair product left to mankind from the dark record of centuries.

The first to attempt a Ghetto novel was the great poet Heinrich Heine in his fragment, *Der Rabbi von Bacharach*, perhaps the finest of his prose writings. He describes the terrible experience of a rabbi of Bacharach and his wife in the fifteenth century, who, during the celebration of the *Seder*, the family festival on the eve of the Passover feast, noticed the corpse of a child that had been placed beneath their table. Knowing that the enemies of the Jews had done this to trump up the old accusation that the Jews use Christian blood on the Passover, they fled in terror of what would take place. Of this oft repeated lie, Heine says: "Another accusation which cost the Jews much blood and fear throughout the Middle Ages up to the beginning of the last century was the silly story reiterated with disgusting frequency in legends and chronicles, that the Jews stole consecrated wafers, which they pierced with knives till the blood flowed, and that they killed Christian children on their Passover in order to use the blood at their evening service. The

Jews, thoroughly hated because of their faith, their wealth, and their account books, on that holiday were completely in the hands of their enemies, who could accomplish their ruin but too easily, if they spread the report of a child-murder, or succeeded in smuggling a child's bloody corpse into the house of a Jew, and fell upon the Jewish family at night during the service. Then there was murder, plunder, and baptism, and great miracles occurred through the agency of the dead child, which the church finally even canonized." Heine describes the Frankfort Ghetto, to which the rabbi fled from the wrath to come. The oft-quoted description of Jewish female beauty that he gives in speaking of Sarah, the rabbi's wife, is worth repeating: "Her face was touchingly beautiful, even as, in general, the beauty of Jewesses is strangely touching. The consciousness of the deep misery, the bitter disgrace, and the evil experiences under which their relatives and friends live spreads over their lovely features a certain expression of suffering and watch-

ful anxiety, which exercises a peculiar charm upon us."

Turning from Heine's fragment, we find that a number of authors have presented these *genre* pictures of Ghetto life to the reading world. Auerbach's novels, *Spinoza* and *Dichter und Kaufmann*, although concerned with Jewish subjects, can scarcely be included in this branch of literature. The versatile Aaron Bernstein, a scientist, editor, and brilliant scholar generally, wrote two novels, *Mendel Gibbor*, *i. e.* "Mendel the Strong," and *Vögele der Maggid*, *i. e.* "Vögele the Preacher," both of which portray in bright flashes and genial style that peculiar life whereof we speak. In reprinting *Vögele der Maggid* in his magazine, *Der Sinai*, in 1861, the great Jewish preacher and writer, Dr. David Einhorn, prefaced the publication with the following note: "The readers of the *Sinai* will certainly thank us for republishing this excellent novel of the brilliant Bernstein. It is permeated with the real Jewish spirit, and portrays in masterly touches phases of life and thought that have well nigh

disappeared, and sound almost legendary to the younger generation. It is arousing the greatest attention in Jewish circles in Germany. Only a genial man like Bernstein, prominent as theologian as well as scientist (his work on natural history is now being reprinted in America), could write such a novel."¹⁴⁰

I will quote a few passages from these tales of Bernstein. In speaking of the persecutions, he says: "The history of the legislation of all states concerning Jews, whether dictated by religious hatred or perverted benevolence, contained the source of eternal pain; this lent an ever renewed significance to the oldest prophetic lamentations." The implicit trust in God that characterized Jews even in the darkest days is well expressed thus: "Dost thou not know that with Him there is help? Is it not written, hope in God and trust in Him, for He will bring it to pass? Yes, even though thou canst not speak with man, speak to Him, and thou wilt see, His help will come." The love of the Jewish husband

for his wife, the foundation whereon rests the home life of Jews, ever so highly appreciated and praised, is well expressed in a sympathetic reminiscence of the quiet Salme, in *Mendel Gibbor*. "Four years God, blessed be He, permitted us to be together. His holy will did not bless us with children, but her heart grew more pious and joyful from day to day, and when she implored God for His mercy and compassion, it was only her eyes that expressed prayer to Him on high, but her lips smiled upon her happy husband. Light rested on her face and in her soul, until her time came, and she was called away by God.

* * * God, blessed be He, is my witness, I did not murmur, for I lived with my pious Yütte four years, two months, and six days, and that was more than a whole life and a long life." In this novel he tells the story of the Polish Jew, Saul Wahl, who is said to have been king of Poland for one day during an interregnum.

The man entitled above all others to the designation, "Poet of the Ghetto,"

is Leopold Kompert. Born in the Ghetto of Münchengratz, Bohemia, in 1822, acquainted with the true life of the Ghetto from his very infancy, he knew from experience all its phases and all the peculiar characters developed by it. His was a poetic soul, and he threw the glow of ideality over Ghetto scenes, yet presented them garbed in the elements of truth. In a series of tales he has preserved for later generations the peculiarities of that life. So charmingly did he write, so new and striking was the matter of his productions, that his tales created a great sensation in the literary world, arousing as much attention, it is said, as Auerbach's equally unique *Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten*. These Ghetto novels of Kompert have become part and parcel of the world's literature. They were a revelation. They pointed to a life unknown to the world. Joy and sorrow, happiness and woe, love and marriage, scenes of sickness and death, all the common happenings that go to make up daily life, are described by him with a sympathetic feel-

ing that only a loving spirit can experience. They are homely scenes that he pictures. Nothing grandiose or heroic in the sense of the uncommon appears upon his pages, and for this very reason, because all his stories are concerned with scenes and incidents with which every one is familiar, and which appeal to the human heart, he exercised such power with his pen, and made the better side of Ghetto life immortal. Scenes of home, scenes of the heart, of mother's love, of father's self-sacrifice, of filial devotion, of conjugal constancy, these form the burden of his tales, and as long as man is interesting to man, so long must stories of this kind meet with a sympathetic reception. The qualities of the heart as appearing in the Ghetto formed the inspiration of his muse, and the human heart responds to what is true or loving, wherever it may appear. Then, too, he presented in strong colors the strange characters peculiar to the Ghetto, the products of centuries of seclusion and exclusion, such as the *Min*, the silent man; the *Scelenfängerin*, the woman who took God's place

in protecting the helpless ; the *Dorfgeher*, the peddler ; the *Shlemihl*, the awkward individual unfortunate in every undertaking. Institutions peculiar to the Ghetto were explained to the world, such as the *Beschau*, the custom of the young men of the Ghetto to visit, with the purpose of taking to wife, the girl recommended to them by the marriage broker, or *Shadchen*. *Ohne Bewilligung* is the story of the couples who, because of the inhuman regulation limiting Jewish families to a certain number, could not obtain permission from the government to marry, and therefore, although united by a religious ceremony, were in the eyes of the law not legally married. These scenes and characters he paints with the brush of the artist, and in a manner so vivid that we perceive at once that he is writing from knowledge and with sympathy. It is only the fairer side that he presents, the horrors of that existence he passes by. He throws the shimmer of beauty over everything that he touches, and in the light of his writings the poetry of the Ghetto alone

appears. Even his characters are for the most part good, and we are led to think that the darker traits that deface human nature did not exist there. This was due to his idealistic, artistic temperament. After his death, in 1886, Karl Emil Franzos, another novelist of the Ghetto, wrote of this feature of Kompert's stories: "Jewish life, as portrayed by Kompert, appears more edifying than it really is. Not that he exaggerated its good traits, or avoided the shadows and the reverse of the medal, but he did not describe these so vigorously and minutely as its bright side. This was the result, not of carefully planned purpose on his part, but of his artistic individuality and character. He could not speak a harsh word, or express an adverse opinion. Wickedness was to him a source of spiritual pain, and, in art, he hated to analyze a low character." This is a fault of omission, but the purity and ideality of Kompert's writings atone for a defect of this kind, a defect readily pardoned. Professor H. Steinthal most beautifully says: "What was it that guided Kompert's pen?"

Gratitude, and the love of a Jewish son for his Jewish mother, the Ghetto street; for this revealed to him the place of his childhood, full of the brightest sunlight. His glance was not directed to the narrowness of the street or the pavement; he preferred to look up to the sky from which brightness beamed."

Now let us examine more closely the stories, so distinctive in their treatment, which fascinated the reading world.

Kompert wrote his first stories of the Ghetto in 1846—1847 for the Vienna *Jahrbuch für Israeliten*. Then followed in rapid succession his many other tales, "At the Plough," a lengthy romance, "Bohemian Jews," "New Stories from the Ghetto," "Tales of a Jews' Street," volumes of short stories, and "Amongst Ruins." These comprise his Jewish stories; he wrote others also, but with them we are not concerned here.

First, a few words as to what Ghetto life itself was to him. He says in one of his stories: "In the Ghetto every individual is bound by a thousand chains to

the community. Woe has here a thousand tongues, and if the lightning blast the happiness of a single one, a thousand eyelashes are cast down."¹⁴¹

Of the inhabitants of the Ghetto, he tells us: "They had their sorrows and troubles, as we have ours, and when misfortune came upon them, it visited them with harsh and heavy blows. Rude and unfeeling, it struck them with doubled fist. But when their hearts expanded with happiness, and they wished to enjoy themselves, they were like such as swim in refreshing waters. They plunged in, fresh and courageous, and permitted themselves to be carried by the stream whithersoever it, not they, wished."¹⁴² Again: "We must not look for much romance, for we are in the Ghetto, and there the people have something else to do besides standing idly at the wells and helping beautiful Rachels remove heavy stones. The people there are themselves stones, and must permit themselves to be shoved and moved by the caprice of others."¹⁴³

He wrote in the purest German; he

never uses the jargon except when it serves to bring out his characters in stronger light. His stories are truly poetic and artistic.

In his tale, *Die Jahrzeit*,¹⁴⁴ *i. e.*, the anniversary of a parent's death, always commemorated by the children throughout their lives by the *Kaddish*, that distinctively Jewish prayer, he portrays the loving attachment of the Jew for his dead, and the anxiety of the living to have some one say the *Kaddish* for them, when they have passed away. An abstract of this tale will furnish a good example of Kompert's power and style. The story tells of Jacob Löw, a rich man, who had five promising sons and one daughter. He is delighted with the thought that there will be five sons to survive him and recite the *Kaddish* for the parents after their death. His hopes, however, are shattered, for, one after another, these sons succumb to a treacherous disease. All his expectations now center in the daughter; if there is to be anyone to remember him after death, it will be her children. He lavishes every-

thing upon her. She is a gay, careless child, and falls in love with a certain Jacques. Her parents oppose the match. The father had set his heart upon her marrying his cousin Maier, a good-hearted though homely young man. She, however, marries the man of her choice, and follows him to Hungary. Her father discards her; the mother dies; the father grows morose, hard, sullen. There is no one to remember the *Jahrzeit* of his wife except himself. He is an old man; when he dies there will be no one to recite the *Kaddish*; both will be forgotten. Meanwhile the daughter fares badly; she has married unhappily; her husband deserts her, and goes to America. She returns to her home, and passes the night on a bench in front of her father's house, her little boy beside her. Early in the morning, before anyone is astir in the street, her cousin Maier, who happens to have left his house, comes across her, and shocked at her appearance and her homeless condition, induces her to go into his home to his parents, her relatives. A

happy idea strikes him by which to effect a reconciliation with the father. It is two days before the anniversary of the mother's death. By dint of hard work and perseverance he succeeds in teaching the child the *Kaddish*. On the anniversary he takes the child to the synagogue. The close of the story had best be told in Kompert's own words: "The decisive moment had come. Maier took up the boy quickly, and carried him through the rows of worshippers up to Jacob Löw, at whose side he placed him. Lost in the painful recollection of what the prayer aroused in this hour, Jacob looked straight before him, and did not notice what was taking place round about.

He began the prayer. * * * But clearer and ever clearer resounded the same words from the mouth of a child at his side. His eyes involuntarily filled with tears. * * * He paused and listened, and let the child speak alone. * * * All his woe, all the icy pain at his heart, which had chilled him for so many years, melted before these pure, clear, childish sounds. That

which he had always concealed in his innermost heart, the longing for his lost daughter, the secret which he thought no human soul would ever discover, this child unraveled. * * * 'Who is this child?' he cried with piercing voice, when the last words of the prayer had scarcely sounded. 'Cousin,' said Maier behind him, * * * 'it is your and Esther's grandchild. * * * It is Blümele's child.'

With a faint cry Jacob Löw staggered backwards, and would have sustained a severe fall had Maier not caught him in his arms. His face was deathly pale, he had fainted.

A great commotion arose among the worshippers; they crowded around; an unheard of thing had taken place before their eyes.

All at once Jacob Löw stood up supported by Maier. He began to weep bitterly.

'Where is the child?' cried he, not noticing it on account of his streaming tears. 'Where is Blümele's child?'

Then Maier picked up the boy, and laid

him upon his grandfather's breast. Trembling arms embraced the child. * * *

'Blümele! Where is my Blümele!' cried Jacob Löw.

So the prayer of a child had reconciled father and daughter."

Blümele's husband died in America; she married her cousin, and Jacob Löw lived to see many grandchildren, who would recite the *Kaddish* for him after his death.

Of the *Kaddish*, that remarkable prayer, which even to-day the most lax and indifferent Jew feels it his duty to recite, as an act of filial piety, in memory of a deceased parent, Kompert says:

"The *Kaddish* is that peculiar prayer handed down from generation to generation, from century to century, which, spoken in the language of ancient Zion, forms an essential portion of the daily service. Its origin is mysterious; angels are said to have brought it down from heaven and taught it to men. About this prayer the tenderest threads of filial feeling and human recollection are entwined; for it

is the prayer of the orphans! When the father or the mother dies, the surviving sons are to recite it twice daily, morning and evening, throughout the year of mourning, and then also on each recurring anniversary of the death, or, as it is called in the Ghetto, on the *Jahrzeit*, for it possesses wonderful power. * * *

Truly, if there is any bond strong and indissoluble enough to chain heaven to earth it is this prayer! It keeps the living together, and forms the bridge to the mysterious realm of the dead. One might almost say that this prayer is the watchman and the guardian of the people by whom alone it is uttered; therein lies the warrant of its continuance. Can a people disappear and be annihilated * * * so long as a child remembers its parents? * * * It may sound strange: in the midst of the wildest dissipation has this prayer of recollection recalled to his better self many a dissolute character, so that he has bethought himself, and for a short time at least purified himself by honoring the memory of his parents. Such a one may

well shudder when he thinks of the life he has led, and compares it with that which he might have passed, if the eye of father and mother had still watched over him !

Because this prayer is a resurrection in the spirit of the perishable in man, because it does not acknowledge death, because it permits the blossom, which, withered, has fallen from the tree of mankind, to flower and develop again in the human heart, therefore it possesses sanctifying power ! To know that thou wilt die, wilt pass from this ever restless, corruptible form into a mysterious hereafter, but that the earth dully falling on thy head will not cover thee entirely ; that there remain those behind who know that thou hast died, who, wherever they may be on this wide earth, whether they be poor or rich, will send this prayer after thee ; to know that thou canst call no green spot in this world thine, that thou leavest them no house, no estate, no field by which they must remember thee, and that yet they will cherish thy memory as their dearest

inheritance ; * * * insignificant, despised, a bubble though thou wast in life, they raise thee to importance long after thou art no longer here ; * * * who is there that cannot comprehend Jacob Löw's peculiar train of thought, and that he found great satisfaction in the knowledge that five boys would say *Kaddish* for him ?”

Plain, homely scenes, occurrences in daily life, the old and ever new story of love and devotion, as developed among the Jews, he beautifully describes. The “Jewish heart” that beats so kindly and sympathetically, that even in greatest misfortune retained its interest in men, he knew how to appreciate. In one place, in speaking of this term, “Jewish heart,” he says : “This word embodies something inexpressible, and it is difficult to make it even approximately understood. What may appear to some an empty sound takes on a reality of which the Ghetto is best able to speak. This ‘heart’ is an historical tradition—whoever appeals to it, desires to say, ‘Do not forget ! be mind-

ful of that which your fathers, my fathers, suffered together, what they experienced, how they rejoiced, and also sorrowed !' It is the expression of the strongest fellowship, the secret bond of sympathy in a brother's fate * * * whatever the Ghetto is, and however it may appear, without that 'heart' it would be something entirely different. In all likelihood, we would have nothing to report about it !"¹⁴⁵ "The Jew can give to all, the Jew does not hesitate, and that is the case because the Jew has a heart."

And who will not appreciate these words? "A mother's heart is a peculiar thing. Stronger and more courageous than any hero in battle, if it is necessary to defend a child, whether from real danger or from the slightest fancied evil, it becomes fearful, almost cowardly, when it anticipates danger."¹⁴⁶ Throughout his writings occur these beautiful expressions, giving proof of his deep and searching insight into human nature.

// But Kompert was more than the poet of the feelings. He was enthusiastically

interested in the complete emancipation of the Jew from the oppression of centuries. All plans to further the development of trades among Jews found his hearty support, and in one of his stories, *Trenderl*,¹⁴⁷ he tells of a Jewish boy who became a skilled workman. He felt that, more than anything else, the Jew's working in the same trades with others, a privilege that past legislation had denied him, would tend to break down the barriers of prejudice, and so he exclaims, "Hammer away, O, locksmith! every blow on the anvil breaks a link from the chain of slavery that binds thy people, and sounds a welcome to the new time coming."

In the movement to make Jews farmers he showed lively interest. He felt that the Jew must out from the Ghetto with its trading into the field with its freedom. The day of emancipation that had dawned must see more and more Jews ploughing the fields and harvesting the grain. The farmer is a free man, he says, far, far superior to the trader and the merchant. His beautiful story, "The Princess,"¹⁴⁸ dwells

on the superiority, the independence of the farmer's life, and describes the doings and the happiness of the Jewish agriculturist. He makes his farmer say: "Can you not be made to understand that in this day of ours a farmer counts for far more than all who sit in their shops, and contend with one another for customers? * * * I, who dwell here on my estate, and owe no man a penny, I am more than the people in the 'Streets' with all their money and treasures." In his romance, "At the Plough," he treats of the same subject. He tells of a family that left the Ghetto, and took to farming. The book teaches a like lesson of the departure of the Jews from the Ghetto, the participation in the new life that a kindlier legislation opened to Jews, the struggle to give up the old familiar habits, and the final adaptation to new conditions. These stories he wrote *con amore*. He was a lover of nature, and his descriptions of the fields and their products are masterly. He felt that a new and better time had come, that the Jews would have to adapt themselves to new

conditions, that the Ghetto with its narrowing influences would have to give way to the larger life of nature and companionship with men in general.

Although he so poetically portrayed the scenes and the life of the Ghetto, yet was he a child of his age. He was much affected and influenced by the new spirit. In writing his stories of the Ghetto, he seemed to be describing incidents of a distant past; in his tales depicting the struggles in adopting new ideas and new occupations, he stood in the present. The story that gives most complete expression to the new spirit is his longest tale, "Amongst Ruins." Here the new struggles with the old, the letter with the spirit. Tolerance between Jew and Christian is the text; a new life arising from the ruins of what was wrong, intolerant, hateful in the old. Thus was Leopold Kompert a power; he opened a new department in literature. He moved in a narrow groove, it may be said, but on that very account he reached such mastery in his art. He has had followers and imitators, but as the

interpreter of the now vanished life of the Ghetto he stands unequalled. /

There have been many others who, after Kompert had given the impulse, worked the mine of Ghetto life, and wrote stories more or less true to life. We may mention S. Kohn, author of *Gabriel*, and many other stories, whose scenes are laid in the Ghetto of Prague; Edward Kulke, E. O. Tauber, Michael Klapp, S. H. Mosenthal, Leo Herzberg-Fränkell, Fanny Lewald, S. Formstecher, Ludwig Philippson, M. Lehmann, Max Ring, M. Goldschmidt,¹⁴⁹ Ludwig August Frankl, who wove the legends of the Prague Ghetto into his poem, *Der Primator*; Phoebus Philippson, in his strange and powerful tale, *Der unbekante Rabbi*; Nathan Samuely, author of "Pictures of Jewish Life in Galicia," and many others. There are several living authors who should be particularly mentioned as excelling in the treatment of Ghetto life. Karl Emil Franzos may be called the intellectual scion of Kompert. His scenes are for the most part laid in Galicia and the Buko-

wina. He depicts the darker and sadder sides of Ghetto life. He is different from Kompert in this. Kompert's was an optimistic nature; he lived in the period of emancipation when hope gilded the horizon. Franzos, living in a later day, has experienced the futility of those hopes. The Jews of the Galician towns are as they were before the year 1848, which promised to bring about an entire revolution in the status of Jews everywhere in Europe. His best known Jewish writings are, "The Jews of Barnow" and "From the Don to the Danube," sketches that inform the world of the characteristics of Jewish life in those far-off and unknown quarters of Galicia, where superstition is rife, and firm belief in the miracles wrought by the wonder-rabbi of Sadagora rules. It is a pity that Franzos paints only the sombre pictures, but the misery and sorrows of that life seem to have so impressed themselves upon his mind as to force out of sight the brighter and lighter scenes. His last Ghetto novel, *Judith Trachtenberg*, is a powerful

tale, and treats the vexed subject of intercourse between Christians and Jews. The moral he desires to teach is the impossibility of happiness in mixed marriages. Judith Trachtenberg is the victim of the unhappiness caused by such a union. Her father says to her at the start, fire and water will not readily mix. In the intoxication of love she consents to become a Christian. When she learns that she has been duped, a revulsion of feeling sets in. She desires to remain a Jewess; her husband, a Christian nobleman, looks down upon Jews; she feels that there is only misery in store for them both, and rather than live on so, she determines to die after having exacted a promise that she will be buried as a Jewess. It is better for her, better for her husband. As a Jewess she was content; she can never be anything else. A home disrupted by religion must be unhappy. The author sets forth the consequences of intermarriage in these strong colors to make the lesson as powerful as possible.

I mention further the well known

writer, Sacher-Masoch, who, although a Christian, has written many realistic stories of Jewish life in Poland and Galicia.

Born in Lemberg, he is thoroughly well acquainted with the scenes which he describes and the life which he portrays. He is altogether unprejudiced, and although his tales do not always place his characters in the most favorable light, yet we feel that he is true to nature.

Some years ago, a new writer of Ghetto novels, Miss E. P. Orzeszko, appeared on the horizon, and created a sensation with her book *Meier Esofowicz*.¹⁵⁰ The scene is laid in the far off village of Szybow, Russia, and depicts the struggles of a youth whose desire for culture stirred up all the bitter fanaticism of the strict Jewish conformists. It is the tale of the struggle of enlightenment with ignorance, of reason with blind faith, of the spirit of religion with the form. Meier represents all the strivings of a lofty human soul for the best and noblest, rising above outward circumstances and surroundings; his enemies embody the uncompromising fealty

to tradition. The scenes are powerfully drawn. The story is essentially one of to-day, and the author has well succeeded in depicting the different currents of religious thought. Since then Miss Orzeszko has written other Jewish stories, one of which, "A Flower," has lately appeared in the columns of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*.¹⁵¹

The latest writer of sketches of Ghetto life, and at the same time the first English author of strength to undertake the treatment of the traits developed in the confines of Jewry, is Israel Zangwill, whose book entitled "The Children of the Ghetto" appeared recently. It is true that his sketches are pictures of life in the Jewish quarter of London, which is not a Ghetto in the sense in which I have considered Ghettos. This Jewish quarter was the domicile voluntarily chosen by Jews who settled in the great city, and, therefore, this book scarcely comes within the range of my subject, but the traits and characteristics developed in this quarter, as set forth in the pages of his volumes, are much the

same as the Ghetto everywhere produced. The inhabitants came for the most part from real Ghettos, and transferred to their new home the peculiarities acquired in the old. These sketches are unique, different from what we had grown accustomed to in the Ghetto novels of the German writers mentioned. The author writes of present conditions, and throws many a flash-light of keen observation upon modern English Jewish life in the east and west ends of London. The small vices and the many virtues of the children of the Ghetto are skilfully set forth in these powerful sketches, unlike any thing in English literature.

My task is done. I have traced the establishment of the Ghetto from its beginning to the day of its removal in civilized lands, and have presented its life in its various phases and localities. It is a long, sad story of religious repression and sectarian hatred, and forms a gloomy chapter in the volume of the dark doings of men. The Jew, however, bears no rancor ; he thanks God that this is past, and with the optimism characteristic of his religion

works on and hopes on, looking forward to the coming of the time when all men will be free to think, free to act, free to live anywhere and everywhere on the earth, which "God has given to the children of men."

NOTES AND INDEX

NOTES.

¹ Frederic Heidekoper, *Judaism at Rome*, B. C. 76 to A. D. 140, p. 6. New York, 1876.

² Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XIV, 4, 5.

H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Vol. III, p. 142. Leipsic, 1863.

E. Renan maintains that there were Jews in Rome as early as the second century B. C. E. *Histoire du Peuple Israëli*, Vol. V, p. 6. Paris, 1893.

³ G. B. Depping, *Les Juifs dans le Moyen Age*, pp. 1-2. Paris, 1834.

I. Bédarride, *Les Juifs en France, en Italie et en Espagne*, p. 25. Paris, 1861.

⁴ *Romans*, XV, 24.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁶ "Haeretici, si se transferre noluerint ad ecclesiam catholicam, nec ipsis catholicas dandas esse puellas: sed neque Judaeis, neque haereticis dare placuit; eo quod nulla possit esse societas fidei cum infideli. Si contra interdictum fecerint parentes abstinere per quinquennium placet." See Labbe et Cosartii, *Concilia Sacrosancta*, Vol. I, pp. 1273-1276. Paris, 1671-1672; also, *Conciliarum omnium generalium et provincialium collectio regia*, Vol. I, p. 645. Paris, 1644.

⁷ "Si vero quis clericus vel fidelis cum Judaeis cibum sumpserit, placuit eum a communione abstinere, ut debeat emendari." *Ibid.*, p. 651.

⁸ "Admoneri placuit possessores, ut non patiantur fructus suos quos a Deo percipiunt, a Judaeis benedici: ne

nostram irritam et infirmam faciant benedictionem. Si quis post interdictum facere usurpaverit, penitus ab ecclesia abjiciatur." *Ibid.*

⁹ Graetz, Geschichte der Juden, Vol. V, pp. 55-56.

¹⁰ Depping, Les Juifs dans le Moyen Age, p. 4.

¹¹ Martin Bouquet, Recueil des Historiens des Gaules, Vol. I, p. 746. Paris, 1840-1876.

¹² Graetz, Geschichte der Juden, Vol. V, p. 219.

Otto Stobbe, Die Juden in Deutschland während des Mittelalters, p. 201. Brunswick, 1866. See also the article, "Stammen die Juden in den südlichen Rheinlanden von den Vangionem ab?" in Brüll's *Jahrbücher für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, Vol. IV, pp. 34-40. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1879.

¹³ Stobbe, Die Juden in Deutschland, p. 88.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 200, note 10.

¹⁵ Moritz Stern, Aus der älteren Geschichte der Juden in Regensburg, in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, Vol. I, p. 383.

¹⁶ Stobbe, Die Juden in Deutschland, p. 200, note 10.

¹⁷ Hugo Barbeck, Geschichte der Juden in Nürnberg und Fürth, p. 6. Nuremberg, 1878.

¹⁸ On the subject of the earliest notices concerning Jews in England, see Joseph Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin England*, p. IX and pp. 2-3. New York and London, 1893.

¹⁹ Salomon Goldschmidt, *Geschichte der Juden in England*, pp. 2-4. Berlin, 1886.

²⁰ For first settlement in Bohemia, see below, p. 84.

²¹ Graetz, Geschichte der Juden, Vol. VI, p. 269.

²² Stobbe, Die Juden in Deutschland, p. 12.

²³ For the relation between the king and the Jews in England, see Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin England*, Introduction, p. XV ff.

²⁴ Stobbe, *Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, p. 19.

²⁵ For instance, in the act of Frederick I, of the year

1156, by which Margrave Henry was created duke of Austria, among other privileges granted him is this of having Jews in his land: "et potest in terris suis omnibus tenere Judaeos," etc. See *Sulamith*, Vol. IV, p. 220.

²⁶ "Pestmässige Abschliessung," Leopold Zunz, Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden. p. 451. Frankfurt-on-the-Main, 1892.

²⁷ David Kaufmann, Don Joseph Nassi, der Begründer der Colonien im Heiligen Lande und die Gemeinde von Cori in der Campagna, in *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, Vol. XLIX, p. 9.

²⁸ See below, pp. 35-39.

²⁹ Stobbe, Die Juden in Deutschland, p. 176.

Höniger, Zur Geschichte der Juden im früheren Mittelalter, in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, Vol. I, p. 90.

³⁰ Leopold Treitel, Ghetto und Ghetto Dichter, p. 7, in M. Brann's Volks und Haus Kalender. Leipsic, 1892.

³¹ A. Berliner, Aus den letzten Tagen des römischen Ghetto, p. 2. Berlin, 1886.

Joseph Jacobs, Studies in Jewish Statistics, Appendix, p. XXI, note 3. London, 1891.

³² E. Rodocanachi, Le Saint-Siège et les Juifs, p. 41, note 4. Paris, 1891.

³³ For an account of the Portuguese Judiarias, see M. Kayserling, Juden in Portugal, pp. 49-52. Leipsic, 1867.

³⁴ Graetz, Geschichte der Juden, Vol. IX, p. 46.

³⁵ See below, Chap. V.

³⁶ Bédarride, Les Juifs in France, en Italie et en Espagne, p. 335.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

³⁸ Graetz, Geschichte der Juden, Vol. X, p. 49.

³⁹ L. Erler, Historisch-kritische Uebersicht der national-ökonomischen und social-politischen Literatur, p. 372. Mayence, 1879.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴¹ L. Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, p. 488. Berlin, 1845.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 505.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 491.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 500.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 514.

⁴⁶ Höniger, *Zur Geschichte der Juden im früheren Mittelalter*, in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, Vol. I, p. 91.

⁴⁷ Stobbe, *Die Juden in Deutschland*, p. 94.

⁴⁸ Moritz Stern, *Aus der älteren Geschichte der Juden in Regensburg*, in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, Vol. I, p. 383.

⁴⁹ Stobbe, *Die Juden in Deutschland*, p. 63.

⁵⁰ See below, Chap. IV.

⁵¹ Stobbe, *Die Juden in Deutschland*, p. 276.

⁵² *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, Vol. LV (October, 1891), p. 500.

⁵³ See below, Chap. III.

⁵⁴ Berliner, *Aus dem inneren Leben der deutschen Juden im Mittelalter*, p. 52, quoted in *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, Vol. LV, p. 500. See also Frankel's *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, Vol. X (1861), p. 280.

⁵⁵ "In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis. Ego, Rudigerus, qui et Huozmannus cognomine, Nemetensis qualiscunque Episcopus. Cum ex Spirensi villa urbem facerem, putavi melius amplificare honorem Loci nostri, si et Judaeos colligerem. Collectos igitur locavi extra communionem et habitationem caeterorum civium, et ne pejoris turbae insolentia facile turbarentur, muro eosdem circumdedi: Locum vero habitationis eorum juste acquisieram; primo namque civium partim pecunia, partim commutatione: Vallem autem dono cohaeredum accepi: Locum, inquam, illum tradidi eis ea conditione ut annuatim persolvant III Libras et dimidiam Spirensis

monetae ad communem usum Fratrum ; attribui etiam eis intra ambitum habitationis suae et e regione extra usque navalem portum et in ipso navali portu, liberam potestatem commutandi aurum et argentum, emendi vero et vendendi omnia quae placuerint, eandunque licentiam tradidi eis per totam civitatem. Dedi insuper eis de praedio Ecclesiae locum sepulturae sub haereditaria conditione. Illud quoque addidi, si ut Judaeus aliunde apud ipsos habitatus fuerit, nullum ibi solvat teloneum ; deinde, sicut tribunus urbis inter cives, ita Archisynagogus suus omnem judicet querimoniam quae contigerit inter eos et adversus eos. At, si quam forte non determinare potuerit, ascendit causa ante Episcopum civitatis, vel ejus camerarium. Vigilias, tuiciones, municiones, circa suum tantummodo exhibeant ambitum ; tuiciones vero communiter cum servientibus. Nutrices et conductitios servientes ex nostris licite habeant ; carnes mactatas, quas viderint sibi illicitas secundum legis suae sanctionem, licite vendant Christianis, licite emant eas Christiani. Ad summam, pro cumulo benignitatis concessi illis legem, quancumque meliorem habet populus Judaeorum in qualibet urbe, Teutonici Regni.

Quam Traditionem, atque concessionem, ne aliquis meorum successorum ejus pejorare, vel ad majorem censum eos constringere valeat, tanquam ipsi hanc conditionem sibi usurpaverint et non ab Episcopo acceperint, hanc cartam praedictae Traditionis idoneam testis reliqui eis. Et ut ejusdem rei memoria per temporalia saecula permaneat, manu propria subscribendo corroboravi ac sigilli mei impressione, ut infra videri potest insigniri perfeci.

Data est haec carta idibus Septembris, Anno Dominicae Incarnationis MLXXXIII Indict VII (mediate fere Januario) Anno XII ex quo coepit praesidere in eadem civitate praenominatus Episcopus, cujus est character iste."

Published in *Orient* 1842, p. 391.

⁵⁶ "Quum adhuc terra Polonica sit in corpore Christianitatis nova plantatio, ne forte eo facilius populus Christianus a cohabitantiu Judaeorum superstitionibus et pravis moribus inficiatur . . . praecipimus, ut Judaei in hac provincia, Gnezuensi commorantes, inter Christianos permixti non habitent, sed in aliquo sequestri loco civitatis vel villae domos suas sibi contiguas sive conjunctas habeant, ita quod a communi habitatione Christianorum, saepe muro vel fossato habitatio separatur."—See Stobbe, *Die Juden in Deutschland*, p. 176, note.

⁵⁷ "Nec recipiantur (Judaei) alicubi ultra mensem ad habitandum, nisi in locis in quibus habuerint synagogas." Conciliarum omnium generalium et provincialium Collectio regia, Vol. XXVIII, p. 783.

⁵⁸ "Et quod ad habitandum alicubi ultra mensem recipi non deberent (Judaei), nisi in locis, in quibus obtinent synagogas. Sed quia nonnulli nescientes a vetitis abstinere, statutum salubre praefati Concilii (Ravenna III) vilipendunt, ignorantia affectata, poena docente, poterunt cognoscere, quam sit grave constitutiones ecclesiasticos praeterire, ideoque sacro approbante concilio volentes huic morbo salubriter providere, monemus omnes tam clericos quam laicos nostrae provinciae atque statuimus, quatenus nullus de cetero locet domos ipsis Judaeis nec locatas dimittat, aut vendat seu quocumque colore concedat, vel inhabitare permittat ultra duos menses publicatione praesentis constitutionis. Qui vero contra fecerit, ipso facto excommunicationis incurrat sententiam, a qua absolvi non possit, nisi plene satisfecerit in praedictis."—*Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 47.

⁵⁹ "Statuimus ut Judaei et Saraceni inter Christianos, vel Christiani inter Judaeos, vel Saracenos, domos, hospitia seu alia receptacula in quibus habitent, nullatenus, permittantur habere; sed in civitatibus et locis ubi certae limitationes sunt, eisdem Judaeis et Saracenis deputatae, reducantur ad eas, et infra ipsas constituent habitationes

suas. Ubi vero Judaei et Saraceni praedicti ad habitandum non habuerint hujusmodi limitationes seu terminos deputatos, limitentur et assignentur eisdem partes aliquae in civitatibus et locis praedictis a Christianorum habitationibus separatae, infra quas reducant se, nec extra praedictam limitationem permittantur quomodolibet commorari; . . . Christiani autem, qui intra limitationem Judaeis vel Saracenis, assignatam vel assignandam, habitare praesumpserint, si infra duos menses a die publicationis praesentium factae in ecclesia cathedrali civitatis vel diocesis ubi moram trahunt, se ad commorandum inter Christianos reducere non curaverint, ad id per censuram ecclesiasticam compellantur. Judaeis vero et Saracenis, si infra dictum terminum duorum mensium ubi limitatio est facta, vel postquam dictae limitationes de ordinatione et voluntate domini regis, vel cujuscumque alterius domini ecclesiastici vel temporalis civitatis vel loci factae fuerint, se ad easdem reducere noluerint vel neglexerint, Christianorum communitio subtrahatur."—*Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 171.

⁶⁰ "Quorum (Judaeorum) ut evitetur nimia conversatio, in aliquibus civitatibus et oppidorum locis a Christianorum cohabitatione separatis habitare compellantur et ab ecclesiis longius quantum fieri potest." *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 207.

⁶¹ "Vehementer autem a principibus petimus ut in singulis civitatibus certum locum constituent ubi Judaei separatim a Christianis habitatum conveniant. Et, si quas proprias aedes Judaei in civitate habent, intra sex menses eas, vere, non autem simulato contracto Christianis vendi jubeant."—*Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 137.

⁶² H. Baerwald, *Der alte Friedhof der israelitischen Gemeinde zu Frankfurt-am-Main*. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1880.

L. Lewysohn, *Sechzig Epitaphien von Grabsteinen des israelitischen Friedhofes zu Worms*, p. 3. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1855.

⁶³ See above, pp. 67-68.

⁶⁴ David Kaufmann in the introduction to S. Hock, *Die Familien Prags nach den Epitaphien des alten jüdischen Friedhofs in Prag*, p. 36. Pressburg, 1892.

⁶⁵ See above, p. 72.

⁶⁶ The author of the *P'ne Yehoshuah*, a commentary on various sections of the Talmud, was Rabbi Jacob Joshua Falk, rabbi in Frankfort from 1741 to 1756 when he died. On the rabbis of Frankfort see M. Horowitz, *Frankfurter Rabbinen*. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1885.

⁶⁷ H. Baerwald, *Der alte Friedhof der israelitischen Gemeinde zu Frankfurt-am-Main*, p. 13.

⁶⁸ D. Podiebrad, *Alterthümer der Prager Josefstadt*, p. 131. Prague, 1882.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁷⁰ Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Vol. VI, p. 110.

G. Wolf, *Die Juden* (in the series, *Die Völker Oesterreich-Bohmens*), p. 7. Vienna and Teschen, 1883.

⁷¹ Wolf, *Die Juden*, p. 8.

⁷² Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Vol. VIII, p. 58.

Wolf, *Die Juden*, p. 16.

⁷³ Isaak Markus Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, Vol. VII, p. 275. Breslau, 1820.

⁷⁴ Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Vol. VIII, pp. 76-78.

Wolf, *Die Juden*, p. 17.

⁷⁵ See above, pp. 62-66.

On the subject of the confiscation of Jewish books, see: A. Berliner, *Censur and Confiscation hebräischer Bücher im Kirchenstaate*, Berlin, 1891. A. Kisch, *Die Anklageartikel gegen den Talmud and ihre Vertheidigung durch Rabbi Jechiel ben Joseph vor Ludwig dem Heiligen in Paris*, in Graetz-Frankel's *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, Vol. XXIII (1874), pp. 10-18, 62-75, 123-130, 155-163, 204-212. H. Graetz, *Aktenstücke zur Confiscation der jüdischen Schriften in Frankfurt-am-Main unter Kaiser Maxi-*

milian durch Pfefferkorn's Angeberei, *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV (1875), pp. 289-300, 337-343, 385-402. S. A. Hirsch, John Pfefferkorn and the Battle of the Books, in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. IV, pp. 256-292. London, 1892.

⁷⁶ K. Lieben, Gal Ed. Grabsteinschriften des prager israelitischen alten Friedhofs (with notes by S. Hock and introduction by S. L. Rappoport), p. 22. Prague, 1856. This incident forms the plot of S. Kohn's Ghetto novel, *Der Retter*. See below, p. 115.

⁷⁷ Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Vol. X, p. 29.

⁷⁸ A. Kisch, Die Prager Judenstadt während der Schlacht am Weissen Berge. *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, Vol. LVI, p. 400.

⁷⁹ Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, Vol. VIII, p. 227. Frankel's *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, Vol. X (1861), p. 280.

⁸⁰ Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Vol. X, p. 50.

⁸¹ Wolf, *Die Juden*, p. 31.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁸³ From 1784 to 1849 the Jewish community of Prague had a kind of special government, far from autonomous, however, since its affairs, even in their details, were under the supervision of the town magistrate. The Jewish quarter remained distinct in one respect: the funds necessary for its administration had to be raised from among its own inhabitants. In 1894 even this distinction disappeared. The *Judenstadt* became incorporated with the rest of the city in all respects. Since then the Jewish community has been a religious body only. The old Jewish quarter is now known as the *Josefstadt*. Podiebrad, *Die Alterthümer der Prager Josefstadt*, p. 120.

⁸⁴ Wolf, *Die Juden*, p. 112.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7, note.

In the introduction to Gal Ed mentioned above (note 76), S. L. Rappoport proves that the stone supposed to date from the year 606, and regarded as the oldest in the

cemetery, really belongs to the seventeenth century, pp. XXXVII-XL.

⁸⁶ Lieben, Gal Ed.

Hock, Die Familien Prags nach den Epitaphien des alten jüdischen Friedhofs in Prag.

⁸⁷ Zunz, Zur Geschichte und Literatur, p. 395.

⁸⁸ A. Berliner, Geschichte der Juden in Rom, Vol. I, pp. 5-6. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1893.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 25.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 105.

⁹¹ Rodocanachi, Le Saint-Siége et les Juifs, p. 25 ff.

⁹² D. Cassel, article "Juden," in Ersch und Gruber's Allgemeine Encyclopädie (Part XXVII), p. 148.

⁹³ See above, p. 27.

⁹⁴ F. Gregorovius, Wanderjahre in Italien, Vol. I, pp. 103-104. Leipsic, 1876-1881.

⁹⁵ Quoted in Rodocanachi, Le Saint-Siége et les Juifs, p. 60.

⁹⁶ Berliner, Geschichte der Juden in Rom, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 13.

⁹⁷ Rodocanachi, Le Saint-Siége et les Juifs, p. 2. So, for example, Alexander III (1159-1181) said that Jews were to be tolerated "pro sola humanitate," "on account of humanity alone," and Clement III (1187-1191), "ex vera gratia et misericordia," "from real mercy and pity."

M. Güdemann, Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Italien während des Mittelalters, Vol. II, p. 76. Vienna, 1884.

⁹⁸ See on this point, Berliner, Geschichte der Juden in Rom, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 34.

⁹⁹ Cassel, article "Juden," in Ersch und Gruber's Encyclopädie, p. 148, notes.

¹⁰⁰ See Ludwig August Frankl's poem, Tourist und Cicerone am Titusbogen in Rom, Ahnenbilder, p. 93. But Berliner, in his lately published work, Geschichte der Juden in Rom, Vol. I, p. 40, states that this tradition

is unknown among the Jews of Rome.

¹⁰¹ Rodocanachi, *Le Saint-Siège et les Juifs*, p. 205 ff.

¹⁰² Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Vol. IX, pp 501-502.

¹⁰³ Gregorovius, *Wanderjahre in Italien*, Vol. I, p. 99.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

¹⁰⁵ Cassel, article "Juden," in Ersch und Gruber's *Encyclopädie*, p. 148.

Archibald Bower, *History of the Popes*, Vol. II, p. 464
Philadelpdia, 1844-1845.

¹⁰⁶ Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Italien*, Vol. II, p. 77.

¹⁰⁷ Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter vom fünften bis zum sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Vol. IV, p. 396. Stuttgart, 1869-1873.

¹⁰⁸ Cassel, article "Juden," in Ersch und Gruber's *Encyclopädie*, p. 148.

¹⁰⁹ Bower, *History of the Popes*, Vol. II, p. 464.

¹¹⁰ Erler, *Historisch-kritische Uebersicht der national-ökonomischen und social-politischen Literatur*, p. 389.

¹¹¹ Bower, *History of the Popes*, Vol. II, p. 470.

¹¹² Berliner, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, Vol. II, p. 39.

¹¹³ Rodocanachi, *Le Saint-Siège et les Juifs*, p. 284.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

¹¹⁷ Gregorovius, *Wanderjahre in Italien*, Vol. I, p. 100.

¹¹⁸ Before the institution of the Ghetto, there were a number of synagogues in different portions of the city. Berliner, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, Vol. II, pp. 12-13.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 107.

¹²⁰ A thorough discussion of the origin and history of the blood accusation may be found in Prof. Hermann L. Strack, *Der Aberglaube in der Menschheit, Blut-Morde und Blut-Ritus*. Munich, 1892.

¹²¹ In 1886. See Berliner, *Aus den letzten Tagen des römischen Ghetto*, p. 8.

¹²² The Persecution of the Jews in Russia, p. 5. London, 1891. Report of the Russo-Jewish Committee.

¹²³ Leo Errera, *Les Juifs Russes, Extermination ou Emancipation?* p. 18. Brussels, 1893.

These May laws were certainly inhuman, but in the spring of 1894 the special commission appointed to inquire into the Jewish question recommended to the authorities at St. Petersburg a number of provisions, compared with which the May laws of 1882 seem only a beginning. These provisions, as reported in the press, are as follows :

To forbid the Jews from residing in those places where the real estate is the property of the peasantry.

To banish from the villages of the western district all those Jews who have attained their majority since the passing of the May laws of 1882; and to forbid all Jews, as soon as they have attained their majority, from taking up their residence in villages that belong to the peasantry.

To extend to all the Polish districts those provisions of the May laws of 1882 which prohibit Jews from settling outside the towns as well as from acquiring property in land.

To enact that all those Jews who do not act in accordance with the restrictive laws concerning residence in the western provinces (districts of the Pale of Settlement and of Poland) are to be subjected to a special punishment of four months' imprisonment in addition to transport by *étape*.

To institute special supervision over those Jews who, according to the new laws, have the right to sojourn in the villages. This supervision is to be entrusted to the village police, who are to draw up complete lists of Jews coming under this category. These lists are to be kept in the government offices and to be open for general inspection, and the bureau is to have the right of

expelling from the hamlets and villages any Jews who may be considered open to suspicion.

To restrict throughout the whole empire the rights of the Jews in reference to the purchase of real estate.

To revoke that law which allows Jewish mechanics, doctors and assistants, dentists, and wet-nurses to settle in all parts of the country.

To forbid the Jews from entering the provinces of the interior in order to learn pharmaceutical chemistry, medicine, and dentistry.

To expel from the districts of the interior all apothecaries, medical assistants, and wet-nurses of the Jewish religion who now reside there.

To institute a special punishment, in addition to transport by *étape*, for all those Jews who may offend against the above laws concerning sojourn in the districts of the interior.

At the time of writing, it is not known whether or not these recommendations have been adopted.

¹²⁴ The Persecution of the Jews in Russia, pp. 7-8.

¹²⁵ Harold Frederic, *The New Exodus. A Study of Israel in Russia*, pp. 260-261. New York, 1892.

¹²⁶ Errera, *Les Juifs Russes*, pp. 68-69.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹²⁸ Hall Caine, "Scenes on the Russian Frontier." London *Jewish Chronicle*, December 10, 1892

¹²⁹ Frederic, *The New Exodus*, p. 164.

¹³⁰ Nicolas de Gradowsky, *La Situation Légale des Israélites en Russie*, Vol. I, p. 326 ff. Paris, 1891.

¹³¹ Frederic, *The New Exodus*, p. 224.

¹³² *The Persecution of the Jews in Russia*, p. 20.

¹³³ Anatole Leroy Beaulieu, *Les Juifs Russes et leur Ghetto*, in *Les Juifs de Russie, Recueil d'Articles et d'Etudes sur leur Situation Légale, Sociale et Economique*. Paris, 1891.

¹³⁴ See Errera, *Les Juifs Russes*, pp. 162-177.

¹⁴⁵ Charles G. Leland is said to have such a work in preparation.

¹⁴⁶ Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, pp. 453-457.

Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Deutschland, während des vierzehnten und des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, p. 280 ff. Vienna, 1888.

See also an article on "The Jargon," by L. N. Dembitz in *The American Hebrew* (New York), May 6, 1892.

¹⁴⁷ I. Zangwill, *Children of the Ghetto*, Vol. I, p. 6. Philadelphia, 1892.

¹⁴⁸ *Judaism at the World's Parliament of Religions, passim*. Cincinnati, 1894.

¹⁴⁹ See the author's *Jew in English Fiction*, p. 8 ff. Cincinnati, 1889.

¹⁵⁰ David Einhorn, *Sinai*, Vol. VI, p. 186.

¹⁵¹ Leopold Kompert, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. I, p. 11. Leipsic, 1887.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 48.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 246.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 1-57.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 62.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 82.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 220.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 202.

¹⁵⁹ Adolph Kohut, *The Ghetto Novel and its Representatives*. *The Menorah Monthly* (New York), Vol. IV, p. 351.

¹⁶⁰ The English translation appeared in *The Jewish Reformer* (New York). January to June, 1886.

¹⁶¹ January 8 to February 5, 1892.

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